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The Shape of Things

"RED BERLIN" IS AGAIN RED, BUT IT HAS chosen a Social Democratic shade rather than Moscow scarlet. This is the outstanding result of the Berlin municipal elections, which provided the first real test of German political sentiment in relation to the occupying powers. In that city no one of the Allies could exert a predominating influence, and it was the one place in Germany where the populace could make direct comparisons about the four administrations. If any of the major parties had a special advantage, it was the Soviet-sponsored Socialist Unity Party, formed by a merger between the Communists and a Social Democratic minority, since up to now it has controlled the city government. However, the incomplete returns available as we go to press, accounting for about 70 per cent of the votes cast, indicate that the Socialist Unity Party has come in a bad third, with the Social Democrats far in the lead and the Christian Democrats second. In its platform and propaganda the Socialist Unity Party strongly emphasized "German unity," but Molotov badly splintered that plank when, in order to reassure the Poles, he declared that the Oder-Neisse line should be regarded as the permanent frontier between Germany and Poland. In any event, unity was not a genuine issue since it is the common policy of all the German parties. The real dividing line was between the "Westerners" and the "Easterners," and the former have won hands down. This check to Soviet expansion will no doubt cause rejoicing in Washington and London, but it may prove a short-lived triumph unless we take steps to rescue Germany from the social and political rubble of the Third Reich in which it still lies buried.

*

PROSPECTS FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA are brighter today as a result of the Moslem League's decision to join the interim government. The League's action indicates that a measure of understanding was reached at the recent conference between Ali Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru. We must not assume, however, that because the first reef has been cleared all will be clear sailing from now on. Despite the political agreement, feeling between Moslems and Hindus still runs high and serious riots are continuing. A wide gulf remains between the plans of the Congress Party for a strong, united India and the Moslem ideal of Pakistan. But Jinnah's decision implies that the Moslems are ready to modify their demands for two Indias in favor of some arrangement approximating that originally suggested by the British mission—a substantial amount of provincial autonomy within a federated India. In any case, the problem of constitution-making will be easier with Jinnah inside the government.

*

AMERICAN OCCUPATION POLICIES IN JAPAN are encountering increasingly sharp criticism from the Russian, Chinese, and British members of the Allied Council for Japan. It is not so much a clash of opinion on basic directives, in the formulation of which all representatives have participated. It is rather that there is a growing conviction that General MacArthur is dis-

Exclusive!

LASKI

on

AMERICA

Harold J. Laski, back in England after two months in this country, will give his impressions of present-day America in a series of three articles beginning in next week's issue of *The Nation*.

Also:

PRE-ELECTION ROUNDUP

Next week's pre-election issue of *The Nation* will carry the final reports from its correspondents across the country. The last installment of *Robert Bendiner's* political series will cover Pennsylvania and Ohio. *Carey McWilliams* will report from California, *Richard Neuberger* from Oregon, *Milburn P. Akers* from Chicago. And the *Nation* editors will give their appraisal of the national political situation on the eve of the crucial vote that will determine the character of the 80th Congress.

DON'T MISS THE NEXT ISSUE OF *The NATION*

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon — *Literary Editor* Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors
Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch — *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors
Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance, Tris Coffin

Assistant Managing Editor: Jerry Tallmer

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:* Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: William B. Brown
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

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playing too much tenderness in enforcing the directives on the Japanese government. Last week, the Soviet delegate urged that in the coming local elections the Japanese government be instructed to eliminate defects that were flagrant in the general election of April 10. The American member, Ambassador George Atcheson, Jr., rushed to the government's defense with the assertion that its aims were virtually identical with American aims. This reply evoked an icy retort from the British representative, who said that Atcheson was showing a "cordiality" to the Yoshido government which was hardly justified by its performance. Atcheson's attitude provides involuntary confirmation of Harold Strauss's analysis (page 470) of the factors behind the sudden shift in Japanese economic policy. Until recently, our occupation policies have been aimed at freeing Japan from militarist and feudal control. But the objectives seem to have changed, and the American people have a right to an explanation.

✶

THE PITTSBURGH POWER STRIKE HAS ENDED. The independent union involved has voted to arbitrate the issues in dispute. This is a decision which might well have been taken earlier, but for the erratic leadership of the strikers, saving Pittsburgh from a great deal of unemployment and loss of production and averting unpleasant consequences for labor which seem likely to result from the long tie-up. As the dispute dragged on, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. union leaders (whose sympathies were at first aroused by the injunction granted against the independent union) became increasingly sour. Privately, C. I. O. people have hinted darkly at a plot, pointing out that the striking group was originally a company union and that George L. Mueller, its president, was put through school by the Duquesne Light Company. It is not necessary to accept this colorful but undocumented charge of collusion to believe that the whole irresponsible episode will harm labor and the Democratic Party. By keeping Mayor Lawrence pinned to his desk, the emergency created by the strike removed from the campaign the shrewdest Democratic leader in Pennsylvania. It has given union-baiting Republicans some exceedingly effective ammunition. And, above all, it has set the stage for anti-labor legislation, both in Harrisburg and Washington.

✶

ONCE MORE DR. GALLUP HITS THE NEWS. His sensational analysis of political trends, published in the closing weeks of the campaign, stresses the waning fortunes of the Democratic Party, the shift in the independent vote from the Democratic to the Republican column, and a drop in popularity for poor Mr. Truman so catastrophic that it looks as if he would have a hard time getting elected dogcatcher in Independence, Missouri. We were particularly interested in the sampling

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on how the vote would divide if this were a Presidential election year. From Dr. Gallup's figures, it would appear that the Democratic majority had dropped from 54 per cent in the 1944 election to a present figure of 47. Now this 54 per cent awakened vague tinglings of memory, and we consulted our research department to see what Dr. Gallup had come up with three weeks before Election Day in 1944. Dr. Gallup's figure was Roosevelt 51, Dewey 49. On the day before election he upped Roosevelt to 51½ and put Dewey down to 48½. The actual vote went 54–46 for Roosevelt. Now Dr. Gallup himself emphasizes the margin that must be allowed for error, and on the basis of his three-weeks-before-election figure it was actually 6 per cent in favor of the Republicans. If it so happened that the error was as wide this time, then Mr. Truman's vote would today be 50 per cent against his Republican opponent's 50 per cent. We are not suggesting that there is nothing in the trend which Mr. Gallup suggests. All we say is that if you are a betting man don't hang your shirt on a Gallup poll.

*

SO LONG AS SPECULATION WAS PUSHING prices higher and higher, spokesmen for cotton were remarkably complacent about it. But when the bubble suddenly burst and spot cotton fell from 38.90 cents a pound to 33.52 in three hectic days, they cried calamity and rent the air with charges of conspiracy and demands for the investigation and punishment of those responsible. Possibly there has been an organized bear raid, as Senator Elmer Thomas, chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee, has alleged. If so, we must observe that the bulls and the cotton bloc had been asking for it. Raw cotton has not been subject to ceilings and has had all the benefits of a free market, including the attention of speculators whose stock-market activities were discouraged last winter by the ban on margin operations. When the OPA, confronted with the difficulty of holding textile prices in line while the raw material soared toward the stratosphere, sought to increase cotton-trading margins, it was thwarted by the cotton bloc in Congress. Through the summer, indications of a short crop, combined with a huge demand, foreign and domestic, kept the bulls happy and excited; so did the speeches of various Southern state officials who talked cotton up to fifty cents and urged planters to delay sales. But it is in the nature of market booms to grow progressively more vulnerable and the increasing differential between domestic and world prices should have been an obvious danger signal. Many farm products are in an equally vulnerable position and within the next year we shall probably see the cotton pattern duplicated in other markets. If so, it is safe to predict that the Farm Bloc will become as clamorous for government action to raise price floors as it has lately been against government action to hold down price ceilings.

IN THE DEATH OF "VINEGAR JOE" STILWELL the United States has lost not only a colorful hero but an inspired leader and one of its most astute military statesmen. Although many of us will think of General Stilwell primarily as the man who came back to reconquer Burma after admitting that "we got a hell of a beating," the men who served under him will remember him as Uncle Joe, one of the kindliest and most modest men that ever lived. History will undoubtedly emphasize chiefly his remarkable efforts to keep China in the war as an effective ally. General Stilwell's long experience in China and his extensive knowledge of its language and customs enabled him to accomplish what no other Westerner has ever attempted successfully: the training and directing of an efficient Chinese military force. This task called not only for military genius but for statesmanship of the highest order. Fearful lest American material assistance would become a divisive rather than a unifying factor in China—a fear justified by subsequent history—Stilwell controlled the distribution of American supplies with an iron hand. Ignoring both the blandishments and threats of the Chunking militarists, he ruled that supplies should be distributed on the basis of military rather than political expediency. His courageous stand ultimately cost him his post as commander-in-chief of the China-Burma-India theater, but not before Burma had been largely rewon and China saved from Japan's last desperate offensive. Until his death, General Stilwell retained his passionate interest in China. He predicted that Hurley's policy would inevitably lead to civil war and always insisted that the social revolution now under way could not permanently be suppressed, regardless of the scale of American aid. It is deeply unfortunate that America should be deprived of the benefit of his experience and counsel at this critical moment in our relations with China.

Meat and Politics

WHEN a politician who eats, drinks, and breathes politics wants to be particularly mean to another politician he invariably accuses him of "playing politics." So we were not surprised to note that Mr. Truman's radio announcement of meat decontrol was damned by the Republicans, in advance of its delivery, as a "political gesture" designed to influence the elections. That was a safe line to take, even without knowing what the President would say, since it was obvious that whatever he said would have some effect on the voters. Nobody in this country has yet discovered how to hold office without being a politician, and as long as we remain a democracy, nobody is likely to.

What is really troubling the G. O. P. leaders is their uncertainty about the actual effects of Mr. Truman's

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decision to abandon the effort to hold meat prices in line. It was not an easy decision for him to take. It meant that he would be accused both of making a belated "flip-flop" in policy and of surrendering to big-business pressures. It involved, as he recognized, not merely lifting ceilings on meat but liquidating as rapidly as possible nearly all the economic controls by means of which the Administration had sought to keep the economy on an even keel until production and consumption had reached a rough balance. However, there was no other practical way of bringing meat back to the markets, for the interests holding out for a rise in prices were strongly intrenched and could only be beaten by a long campaign of attrition. But the time factor could not be ignored—either politically, since the meatless millions were apt to hold Democratic candidates responsible for their empty ovens, or economically, since the ramifications of the packers' sitdown had led to difficulties in a dozen other industries.

Mr. Truman, therefore, climbed down with what dignity he could and took the opportunity to remind the people that responsibility for the situation rested squarely on "the reckless group of selfish men who, in the hope of gaining political advantage, have encouraged sellers to gamble on the destruction of price control." The Republicans responded with heat to that charge, perhaps because they realized it contained a damaging amount of truth. Carroll Reece, chairman of the Republican National Committee, retorted that if price-control legislation was bad, the fault lay with the Democratic majority in Congress. That was hardly a good debating point, for as the Republicans themselves gleefully admit when it suits them, they have long since taken control of Congress by virtue of their opportunistic alliance with the Southern Democrats.

Nor can the Republicans deny that they have exploited the meat famine for all it is worth. That is quite understandable; according to the New York *Times*, they feel, perhaps rightly, that it is the best issue they have had in fourteen years. But they can be blamed for talking about meat to the exclusion of all other questions. They claim that the tide is flowing their way and will sweep them into control of Congress. But they have told us practically nothing about what they are going to do with their majority when they get it. They talk vaguely about sweeping away the "bureaucrats" and releasing business from its chains. But their notion of a "free market" remains, as always, a strictly one-way affair; it does not include giving consumers the benefit of a little more competition. Mexican cattle or Argentine beef will only enter the country over Senator Taft's dead body.

Since the Republicans' hopes of capturing Congress this year and the Presidency in 1948, while not quite as rosy as they and Dr. Gallup suggest, are far from baseless, their lack of a positive program is doubly alarming. The problems this nation faces in the years immediately ahead are numerous and intricate. They are not going to be solved by a reversion to policies that proved futile in 1930. "The fate of the last great free economy in the world," wrote Walter Lippman in the New York *Herald Tribune* of October 17, "will almost certainly depend on whether business and the Republican Party manage affairs so as to prevent or to bring on another 1929. Some day, therefore, Mr. Taft ought to tell us what he has learned from the twenties, and what he would now do differently when the Republicans come into power."

Will Senator Taft, and some of the other numerous aspirants to Republican leadership, forget meat for a moment and devote one speech before November 5 to meeting this serious challenge from a friendly quarter? In asking this, we don't expect them to stop being politicians. We would only remind them that the flavor of politics can always be improved by an infusion of statesmanship.

Second Chance

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE distance from Paris to Flushing Meadows is a short one as the plane flies, and it is little farther politically. The same tensions flourish in both places; the same issues are likely to explode. In Flushing the victor nations will wrestle with the problem of keeping the peace they were unable to make at Paris, while the people watch with anxiety and little optimism.

The radio talk by Mr. Byrnes and the interview with Mr. Vandenberg on the Peace Conference together provided a coherent and reasoned defense of American policy—and incidentally an answer to Mr. Wallace. Their object was to establish the United States in the role of the firm and friendly supporter of democracy everywhere, and Russia in that of the greedy, suspicious aggressor. Vandenberg even mentioned Munich by way of making his meaning crystal-clear. In this country the statements of both men will be taken at face value by many people. For the provocative behavior of Russia's delegates at Paris has done more than any accomplishments of our own to make the Byrnes-Vandenberg thesis seem convincing. Never has Molotov or Vishinsky or Manuilsky permitted any question to be raised of Russia's motives in its broad security area; and never has one of them granted that an honest excuse might be found for the actions of the West. By their implacable hostility even where policy should have dictated conciliation, they have weakened their case and strengthened that of Byrnes and Vandenberg. But the smooth language used by the two delegates in defending America's role at Paris should not lead us to forget their own record of consistent pettifogging objection to practically

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everything proposed by the Russians. It is not quite enough to say that they tried only to prevent the Soviet Union from driving beyond the boundaries agreed upon at Yalta and Teheran. The fact is, Messrs. Byrnes and Vandenberg, like Mr. Atcheson in Tokyo, seem to have followed a fixed practice of opposing all Russian demands, reasonable and unreasonable, on the dangerous ground that any success for Moscow would be regarded as a defeat for the West.

That this is a fact and not the dark imagining of one of those "appeasers" referred to by Mr. Vandenberg is indicated by a recent leader in the London *Economist* commenting upon the Madison Square Garden speech of Henry Wallace. The *Economist* disagreed with many of Mr. Wallace's remarks, above all with his attempt to make "British imperialism" responsible for the American attitudes he disliked; in countering this view the editorial pointed to the "growing anxiety in London over the persistence and precipitancy with which Mr. Byrnes is seeking occasions to challenge Russia." "To be determined to stand firm against any further advance by the Soviets is one thing," says the *Economist;* "but openly to provoke and challenge Russian policy is another." It recalled Mr. Byrnes's earlier tendency to "agree with the Russians at Britain's expense," and remarked that while the change since then was undoubtedly an improvement, "many people in this country are asking whether this is not a bit too much of a good thing." That is what some people in America are asking, too, and will continue to ask in spite of the persuasions of Mr. Byrnes and his colleagues.

We have heard a lot, since the Paris conference ended, about the value of facing frankly the "real issues" raised there, the "real conflicts" dividing Russia and the West. Mr. Vandenberg described the difficulty of finding common ground between "Eastern communism and Western democracy." The Moscow radio speaks with equal feeling about the threat to Russian democracy embodied in Western capitalism. But all the "frankness" displayed on both sides manages to evade the issues that really need to be met with some kind of working compromise if peace is to be maintained.

For it is not, as the Byrnes-Vandenberg duet would have us believe, a mere matter of stopping Russia's advance toward the West or the Mediterranean, or of insisting upon democratic procedures in the Balkans. It is also, and more fundamentally, a problem of adapting American policy to the unalterable fact of economic-political revolution in Europe. Put more concretely, it is all right to argue against restrictive trade agreements and the control of international highways like the Danube, but it would be better to make at least an attempt to fit these excellent free-enterprise principles into the context of Europe's shattered economy and the glaring need of a planned, closely integrated system of production and exchange, particularly in the Danube valley. Until we do this, our objections to Russia's exclusive policies will have a sharp metallic sound in European ears, for the economic advantages of "freedom" for the United States are as evident as the advantages of "restriction" for the Soviet Union.

Conversely, it is not enough for Russia to accuse us of seeking selfish, capitalist-imperialist advantages throughout its area of influence; for this, too, will sound phony as long as large contingents of the Russian army graze on the poor lands of Eastern Europe and reparations draw a big proportion of the industrial plant of the area into Russian hands. Soviet influence has undoubtedly hastened the overthrow of the fascist-feudal oligarchy in the border states and supported essential policies of collective control and regional cooperation which the Western powers have done their best to discourage. But at the same time Russia's preoccupation with its own security has largely obscured the issue of revolutionary change—which, in its varied forms, is the one great overriding issue in all of Europe.

At Paris that issue skulked half hidden behind the conflicts of interest between the big powers which were fought out in the discussions of the five treaties under consideration. At Flushing it has a better chance to emerge in its own right. For the Assembly is not a legislative or an administrative body. It is a world forum—the most impressive that could be organized. Since it can discuss and advise but not determine action, its members are free, or should be free, from the necessity which haunted the Peace Conference of thinking only in terms of national advantage. They can attempt to deal with matters under consideration on their intrinsic merits rather than as tests of national or bloc strength. Without truculence and suspicion, without sanctimonious self-conceit, the nations, great and little, can analyze the nature of the conflicting ideas they hold about the world they are trying to reassemble, each in its own imperfect image.

Perhaps when the camouflage is off we shall see that the conflict of social and national interests is too great to be met by compromise or conciliation. But perhaps the nations will find measures of accommodation sufficient at least to tide over the period of reorganization and reconstruction that lies ahead, and allow time for more profound solutions to be reached under conditions of relative stability. It is to this last hope that the delegates at Flushing should address themselves, and I commend to their close attention the remarkable statement on relations with Russia issued last Saturday in New York by the Federal Council of Churches, a body which represents, not the prejudices or interests of a few but the desires of some 28,000,000 Protestants and unaccounted millions of other Americans.

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Pre-Election U. S. A.

BY ROBERT BENDINER

IV. New York's Political Spectrum

A FEW weeks ago the leaders of this state's Democratic-Liberal-Labor coalition were worried about registration. Unless New York City could deliver a healthy registration, the theory ran, the Mead-Lehman ticket would have only the faintest chance of success—and the prescribed measure of "health" ran from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000. A short but vigorous campaign was ordered by the strategists, and for a week the top candidates of the three parties gave their energies not to flaying Republicans but to exhorting a supposedly sluggish electorate to do its civic duty and go to the polls. C. I. O. locals offered prizes to shop stewards who would bring in reports of perfect registration. Mrs. Roosevelt had a recording made for frequent radio reminders. Registration rallies were held throughout the city. And even Danny Kaye was pressed into service.

When the polls closed, 2,715,563 citizens were safely qualified to vote—a midterm record for the city. But coalition leaders were hardly less worried after the event than they were before. They couldn't be sure whether the remarkably high registration meant that voters were happy about Mead or unhappy about meat. What might have been a paean of joy was no more than a tentative sigh of relief—a cautious satisfaction that at least the ticket now had a chance to pull through, whereas a low registration would have doomed it completely.

G. O. P. leaders were equally baffled and every bit as nervous. The Republican *Herald Tribune* was editorially circumspect about the "protest" nature of the registration, and in its news columns it played the results without interpretative adornment. The Democratic *Times*, on the other hand, carried the head: "High Registration Viewed as Augury of Dewey Triumph. Impartial Observers Declare the Rush to Qualify Indicates Anger Against Washington." Other "impartial observers," therefore, were not surprised when the next day the *Times* announced editorially that it was splitting its vote, favoring Thomas E. Dewey, Republican, for Governor and Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat, Liberal, and American Labor Party, for Senator. The *Times* is thus sharing what appears to be a widespread tendency to cut across party lines this fall. In the absence of some momentous development between now and Election Day, the sound to listen for on November 5 will not be the rumble of a Republican landslide but the lively crackle of splitting tickets.

This prospect of unorthodox voting appears to be the chief immediate effect of Roosevelt's loss on the politics of the state. The curious compound of disparate groups—economic, political, and racial—which were held together by the Roosevelt magic is showing signs of disintegration. I do not see it crumbling in the kind of disaster that the Republican National Committee talks about, but rather losing a chunk here and a fragment there, for no one powerful reason but for many lesser reasons and out of vague dissatisfaction.

THE THREE-PARTY COALITION

The Roosevelt vote in the state was basically distributed among the Democratic, American Labor, Liberal, and Communist parties, with less sharply partisan strength organized by the C. I. O.-P. A. C., the National Citizens' P. A. C., the A. F. of L., and other independent labor and white-collar groups. And beyond this organized vote were the national, racial, and religious blocs—Negro, Italian, Polish, Jewish, and, through the local Democratic machines, Irish Catholic. From all but one of these groups defections are expected, and it is on the unpredictable size of these chipped-off particles, I believe, rather than on the force of a Republican ground swell, that the results will depend.

The three-party coalition, plus the Communists, is still functioning after a fashion, but the cement is weak and the strains increasingly severe. The A. L. P. and the Liberals avoid mutual contagion and do well to keep from attacking each other during the campaign. In a number of Congressional districts they are running rival candidates, especially in the Bronx, where Ed Flynn, the Democratic boss, not only refuses to accept indorsements of his candidates by the two independent parties but has induced his opposite number in the Republican camp to do the same. Dr. John L. Childs, chairman of the Liberal Party, is just as cool as Mr. Flynn to the coalition of expedience. His organization is certain to get a large enough vote this fall to entitle it to permanent standing as a party, and he looks forward to the day when it can enrol all the "liberal-labor non-totalitarian forces" and run its own candidates, because "there is nothing to choose between machines which make public affairs a private interest." The Communists, who feel they can't afford to get too far away from the old popular-front idea if they are to retain even a minimum of influence, are going along with the ticket, but they are obviously less than exultant about their candidate for Governor—and they openly opposed the choice of Lehman for the Senate. Like the A. L. P., they favored LaGuardia, but the local Democrats, reviewing Fiorello's record as a Republican, shuddered at the thought and

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insisted on the able but far gentler Lehman, about whom even the opposition can say nothing more damning than that he is "a sweet old gentleman."

THE LABOR VOTE

Against this backdrop of partisan cross-currents the C. I. O.'s P. A. C. is making an earnest effort to keep the labor vote in line. The Wallace affair, the labor-draft proposal, and now the lifting of price controls on meat have reduced enthusiasm for the Administration well below the boiling-point, but the organization is still out to deliver the vote. There is 1948 to be thought of, and P. A. C. leaders want to be in a strong position for bargaining when convention time rolls around.

In spite of the threat of a "grass-roots storm" that would shake the A. F. of L. "to its very foundation," the state federation's Non-Partisan Committee decided after a blistering session to make no commitments. The Republicans professed to see in this a victory, since it was the first time in twenty years that the committee had failed to plump for the Democratic candidate for Governor. The Democrats were less publicly but probably more genuinely pleased, because there is no doubt that the committee sentiment favored Dewey, and its published recommendations would have done Mead no good. Dewey's handling of the elevator strike pleased the federation people, many of whom are also favorably disposed toward Ives. Above all, they are not eager to jeopardize good relations with a state administration that they think all too likely to remain in office. It is noteworthy that when David Dubinsky introduced Mead to the Liberal Party convention, he sedulously avoided any mention of Dewey for fear of antagonizing his fellow-federationists. The A. F. of L. claims 1,300,000 members in the state, the C. I. O. 1,200,000.

Though the state federation has flirted with Dewey, there is no evidence that the coalition will suffer any serious loss on the trade-union front. Both Mead and Lehman are veteran friends of labor, and whatever the political maneuverings of the A. F. of L. leadership, they are counting on the bulk of the rank and file. Where defections threaten to be more serious is among the national and racial blocs.

HARLEM

Probably in no former Roosevelt stronghold are Democratic prospects now bleaker than they are in Harlem. Besides the general post-war letdown and dissatisfaction over food shortages which characterize the state as a whole, Harlem's citizens have a special category of complaints. Although one prominent Negro leader offered the opinion that Truman himself was even more forthright on the question of discrimination than Roosevelt, resentment over Southern influence in the Administration is widespread. More than one Harlemite asked me sardonically how a South Carolina politician could represent American democracy at the peace table, and none had confidence that a Texan Attorney General would break the case of the Georgia lynchings.

Harlem has nothing against Mead and Lehman, but no conviction in their favor either. On the other hand, its papers featured stories day after day on the Ives-Quinn law, which created the Fair Employment Practices Commission. The effects of the law have not as yet been far-reaching, and there is some criticism of the commission's personnel, but by and large it is logically regarded as a major advance, and it is hard to see how Ives can fail to carry the district.

Dewey

Memories in Harlem being no longer than in other Congressional districts of the country, Dewey, too, will cash in on the FEPC, although he scuttled the first anti-discrimination bill back in 1944, when he was lining up Southern delegates for the approaching Republican convention. Similarly credited to the Dewey administration is the redistricting act which in 1944 enabled Harlem's citizens for the first time to elect a Negro Congressman. Actually the redistricting, which helped the Democrats, had been blocked for years by Republican legislatures, but that will not be remembered in the strong Negro drift, which can be checked, I believe, only by intensive Democratic campaigning throughout the district with the aid of such local idols as Mrs. Roosevelt and Henry Wallace.

DEFECTIONS FROM OTHER BLOCS

Other racial and religious blocs in the state are not nearly so solid as the Negro vote, but by and large they were for Roosevelt and now they are sharply divided. A sector of the Irish population is affected by Farley's coolness to the Mead-Lehman ticket, remembering all too well his truculent statement of four years ago that Mead was "not fit to be Governor." This bloc might still be saved if New York's Mayor O'Dwyer were to take a more active role in the campaign. Some Democratic leaders blame O'Dwyer for failing to have made open war on Dewey last year, when the Governor's political fortunes were at an extremely low ebb following the Republican fiasco in the mayoralty campaign. A strong stand by O'Dwyer now, it is believed, might salvage thousands of votes in predominantly Irish districts of Brooklyn and Queens.

The Jewish vote, which became much more of a unit in support of the New Deal than it had ever been before,

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shows signs of returning to its normal state of division. To some extent disappointment with the Truman Administration over the issue of Zionism has intensified this trend. The Manhattan Zionist Region, meeting in convention a few weeks ago, accused the Democratic Party of failure to carry out its pledges but refrained from offering blanket support to the Republicans. While some ardent Zionists will undoubtedly vote for Dewey as a sign of protest and a warning for 1948, few Republicans are hopeful that the issue will break Lehman's normally firm hold on the Jewish vote.

The coalition ticket stands to gain from the absence of an Italian name on the Republican slate, but this will probably be offset by dissatisfaction among the more religious of the Poles and Slavs over changes that the peace has brought to Eastern and Central Europe—as though that were Truman's fault, much less Mead's. A more solid gain for the Democrats in the way of a bloc vote is seen in the indignation of veterans over Dewey's thoroughly bad record on emergency housing. This sentiment among the veterans is further directed toward the Democrats by the presence on the coalition ticket of Erastus Corning, 2d, who interrupted his term as mayor of Albany to serve as a private in the army. Corning is running for Lieutenant Governor.

DEWEY-IVES PROSPECTS

While Dewey is privately conceded by many Democrats to have the edge on Mead, there is no disposition to let down as the campaign goes into its most heated phase. The independent groups allied with the Democrats are particularly eager to hold the Dewey vote to a minimum. Should he win, the margin of his victory will be the measure of his chances at the next Republican Presidential convention. The G. O. P. has never yet given a second nomination to a defeated candidate, but 1944 was an abnormal year because of the war, and no party can afford to overlook a candidate who can deliver New York's forty-seven electoral votes.

A victory for Dewey, however, is by no means held to assure a victory for Ives or for the Republican ticket as a whole. Lehman is deeply respected throughout the state and has an unparalleled record as a vote-getter, occasionally encroaching even on conservative Republican circles. On the other hand, Irving M. Ives, in spite of a good record in Albany, is comparatively unknown. He is making full use of the Wallace episode to embarrass Lehman, but the issue appears to be a bit too intellectual to lend itself to popular campaigning.

CONGRESSIONAL CONTESTS

In the state's Congressional delegation the Republicans have hopes of making inroads, but no extensive shift is looked for. The probable Dewey-Ives victory in Harlem might normally be expected to cost the seat of Representative Adam Clayton Powell, especially since his Republican opponent, Grant Reynolds, served in the army as a Negro chaplain, is a capable spellbinder, and has been indorsed by Joe Louis. Reynolds may well win, but the most reliable estimate is that Powell will be returned. He starts out with the 15,000 members of his church, the largest Protestant congregation in the country, and has the advantage of an intrenched personal machine. Intelligent opinion in Harlem puts both candidates down as demagogues but appears to rate Powell as the abler of the two.

Caricatures by Seligson

Lehman

The seat of Democrat George F. Rogers in Rochester's Fortieth District is gravely in doubt, having been won two years ago by 1 per cent. In the Bronx Boss Flynn's cavalier attitude toward the independent parties has resulted in four-candidate races throughout the borough, and while the split will reduce the Democratic vote appreciably, there is small reason to assume that the Republicans will abandon their ignoble role of permanent minority party in that sector, content to feed on crumbs from the Flynn table as reward for only token opposition at the polls.

The extremely conservative Frederic R. Coudert, Jr., is all too likely to win the seat formerly held by Joe Baldwin, who went down in the Republican purge of liberals. The Seventeenth is as Republican as a Maine village, and Coudert is an odds-on favorite to beat his Democratic opponent, Myron Sulzberger. In Queens the death last Sunday of the Democratic candidate, William B. Barry, added more uncertainty to an already confused picture. The liberal and able Mark Starr is running on the Liberal Party ticket. Unfortunately, the A. L. P. has its own candidate, so that the independent vote is divided. It is not unlikely that with the Democratic substitute nomination deferred and the independents split the Republicans will be able to gain another seat. A three-way race in Manhattan's Twenty-first is even more likely to cost the Democrats a seat. In this contest the Republicans and Liberals are teamed in behalf of Jacob K. Javits, a Fusionist, with opposition from Eugene P. Connolly of the A. L. P. and Dan Flynn, a Tammany Democrat.

Perhaps the most curious and interesting fight in the state is in the Eighteenth, where Vito Marcantonio, who will run on any and all tickets, from Whig to Single Tax, faces the hardest contest of his checkered career. Having run as a Republican, Democrat, and American Laborite

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two years ago, Marcantonio again made a bid for all three nominations last summer. The A. L. P., of course, obliged, although Vito has been having his troubles in the inner circles of that party, but the Republicans would have none of him, and the Democrats nominated him by a scant 600 votes. During the primary the Republican and Democratic candidates operated out of the same office, and it is likely that many of the votes that went to Marcantonio's narrowly beaten Democratic opponent in the primary will be delivered to his Republican rival, Frederick Bryan, in November. Vito is an adept manipulator, however, and the cagiest opinion in the district is that he will find ways to induce the local Democratic bosses to stay with him and deliver the vote.

Meat on the table by November 5 and an intensive Democratic campaign in doubtful districts may make a material difference in prospects, but as matters stand New York's three-way coalition will do very well indeed to send Lehman to the Senate, hold on to all but one or two of its present twenty-three seats in the House, and keep Dewey's lead down to such modest proportions that the White House will fade from his dreams.

[*Next week Robert Bendiner will discuss Ohio and Pennsylvania, Carey McWilliams California, Milburn P. Akers Illinois, and Richard L. Neuberger the Pacific Northwest.*]

Rankin and the Republicans

BY IRVING M. ENGEL

IN GEORGIA a few weeks ago four people were ruthlessly shot to death in cold blood. One of the men had been arrested on a minor charge but released on bail. The other three—his wife and another married couple—were not accused of any crime. Their only offense was having been born black.

The wilful and brutal killing of four human beings, all unarmed, without the semblance of a legal proceeding, is as un-American an act as can be conceived. We have in the House of Representatives a Permanent Committee on Un-American Activities; yet that committee has taken no steps to investigate the Georgia lynchings.

The reason for this is not far to seek. The guiding spirit of the committee is John E. Rankin of Mississippi, who with the possible exception of his fellow-Mississippian, Senator Bilbo, has done more than any other man in public life today to condone, if not incite, the spirit of race prejudice and hatred that made possible the Georgia outrage. Rankin has not limited himself to attacks upon the Negroes; with equal venom he has spewed hatred on Jews, on aliens, on labor, and on any of his fellow-citizens who were liberal enough to disapprove of John E. Rankin. If intelligent, informed citizens throughout the country were asked to compile a list of the five most un-American individuals in public life today, John Rankin would undoubtedly appear on every list.

The question arises, how is it possible, when we have just finished a war to preserve democracy and are struggling to make a peace in which all mankind shall be free, that a man of the stripe of Rankin is placed by Congress in a position to pass judgment on the opinions, actions, and characters of his fellow-citizens and to persecute and intimidate those of whom he does not approve? The answer to this question is clear on the record. *The responsibility for the creation and continued existence of the Wood-Rankin committee lies squarely on the shoulders of the Republican Party.* The fact that in this they were abetted by the Southern reactionaries in the Democratic Party does not absolve the Republicans from responsibility.

For some six years or more, down to 1944, the Dies committee, under similar leadership, had been allowed, notwithstanding many protests, to ride roughshod over the rights and liberties of our people. This committee finally became so objectionable that in the fall of 1944 it was resoundingly repudiated. Dies very wisely declined to run for reelection; four of the remaining eight members of the committee were defeated. Decent citizens everywhere heaved a sigh of relief and assumed that the danger of a Congressional Gestapo was ended. However, they reckoned without John Rankin of Mississippi and his friend and ally, Joseph Martin of Massachusetts, the Republican leader in the House. These two men devised a clever scheme—and it worked.

On the opening day of the Seventy-ninth Congress, in January, 1945, a routine motion was made to continue in effect the rules of the previous session. To the surprise of most members of the House, Rankin moved that the rules be amended so as to provide for a Permanent Committee on Un-American Activities. This maneuver had two advantages: First, the motion to amend the rules had to be voted on immediately and could not be referred to a committee. Second, if the motion carried, the committee would be permanent, whereas the Dies committee was temporary and had to be renewed from year to year.

IRVING M. ENGEL is a New York lawyer, writer, and lecturer.

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After a brief but bitter debate, the motion was carried by a vote of 207 to 186. This vote was as follows:

For the Rankin motion			*Against the Rankin motion*		
Republicans		137	Republicans		34
Southern Democrats	63		Southern Democrats	44	
Non-Southern Democrats	7	70	Non-Southern Democrats	106	150
		207	Minority Parties		2
					186

It will be seen that the Republicans voted more than four to one in support of the Rankin measure, while the Democrats voted more than two to one against it. The Democratic votes in favor of Rankin came almost entirely from the South.

The record of the Republican Representatives from New York is even worse:

	New York Republicans	*New York Democrats*
For the Rankin motion	15	0
Against the Rankin motion	3	21
Not voting	4	1
	22	22

The Republican Congressmen from New York voted five to one in support of Rankin. Of the three Republicans who had the integrity and courage to vote against him, two—Joseph C. Baldwin and Augustus C. Bennett—were denied renomination by their party leaders.

During most of the life of the Seventy-ninth Congress a petition was pending in the House to bring up a motion to abolish the Wood-Rankin committee. It is common knowledge that the principal reason why this petition did not obtain the required number of signatures was the firm position taken against it by Joseph Martin, the Republican leader.

In his present campaign for reelection Martin is running a close race with his Democratic opponent, Martha Sharp, an able and liberal young woman. His principal weapon in the campaign is the ridiculous charge that Mrs. Sharp is a Communist. The close tie between Martin and Rankin is revealed by the fact that after the campaign got under way the Rankin committee started an investigation of the Unitarian Service Committee and its overseas work. This was chiefly in the hope of finding material that could be used against Mrs. Sharp, who acted as agent for the Unitarian Service Committee abroad in 1940 and again in 1945.

For the relief work which she did in Portugal as agent for the Unitarian Service Committee Mrs. Sharp was decorated by the Portuguese government, which is Catholic and strongly conservative. This alone is sufficient to refute the charge that she is a Communist.

We have here the remarkable spectacle of a committee, headed by a Democrat and professedly seeking to expose un-American activities, itself engaged in the un-American activity of assisting one candidate—who happens to be a Republican—in disseminating false charges against his opponent during a campaign.

Governor Dewey, running for reelection, makes frequent attacks on Bilbo and Bilboism. As recently as September 20 he declared in an address that New York has no place for "the tar brush, the lyncher's rope, and the Klansman's sheet for which Bilbo stands," and that "every real New Yorker is determined that the blight of bigotry shall not turn back the clock." But in all his speeches on this subject Dewey has carefully refrained from mentioning Rankin. The reason is obvious. If he attacked Rankin he would be faced with the embarrassing necessity of explaining away the record of his party in Congress on that subject. In the past few weeks Dewey has been repeatedly urged to take a position against the committee, but he has met these appeals with a stony silence.

Caricature by Seligson

John E. Rankin

Mr. Dewey claims that his party has taken over from the Democrats the mantle of liberalism. Republican leaders are constantly charging the Democrats with endangering, if not destroying, our fundamental rights and liberties. These charges must be viewed in the light of the actions of the Republicans with reference to Rankin.

The Republicans cannot escape responsibility by pointing to the fact that Rankin is a Democrat. While the Mississippian nominally wears the Democratic label, an examination of his voting record for the past few years will show that he and the majority of Republicans in the House have consistently voted together. Whether the Republican Party has gone Rankin or Rankin has gone Republican is another question.

To Joseph Martin and the other short-visioned men who, unhappily, control the Republican Party today, it may have seemed clever politics in the midst of the war to clothe the reckless and irresponsible Rankin with the authority of Congress and to send him out on his wild and headlong career of disunity. However, in the long run poor Americanism can never be good politics. If the facts are brought home to the American people they will administer a well-deserved rebuke to the Republican leaders who placed supposed partisan advantage above our fundamental liberties.

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The People's Front

IT IS safe to predict that on October 24 the Chilean Parliament will confirm the election of Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, candidate of the Radical Party, as President of the republic. Technically, of course, the Parliament is free to choose either Gonzalez Videla or his opponent, the Conservative leader, Cruz Coke; the constitution provides that when no Presidential nominee has obtained an absolute majority, Congress shall decide between the two leading contestants. If the Chilean legislators should favor Cruz Coke over the leader of the left, no one could accuse them of violating the law. But they would be violating the most elementary rules of political common sense. Such an action could only lead to an uprising that would probably result in victory for the masses, followed, after a few weeks, by a military coup à la Perón. Realizing this danger, the deputies of the Liberal Party, whose candidate ran third, have swung their support to Gonzalez Videla. Evidently they recognized that his 50,000-vote plurality expressed not only numbers but the determination of the workers to advance the democratic evolution of Chile.

The task which faces the new President is a challenge to him and to his party. The Radicals have held the Presidency for the last eight years, with Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1939-1942) and Juan Antonio Rios, who died in office last June. Both men tried hard but failed to achieve any real political or economic gains for Chile; although elected by the popular democratic forces, they were compelled to make one concession after another to the right in order to keep power.

I know Gabriel Gonzalez Videla very well. I saw him in one of those moments which take the measure of a man. When the war broke out, he was Chilean Ambassador to France. The French police, already riddled with fascists, many of them in high posts, neglected the ubiquitous Nazi agents and busied themselves rounding up Spanish Republicans and thrusting them into concentration camps. One day I was ordered to leave Paris and establish residence at least twenty-five miles from the capital; the police did this on the thin pretext of shielding me against a Phalangist attack. I told the Chilean Ambassador that I had to go. Without hesitation he answered: "Not unless you want to. You can come and live at the legation with me." At such a moment this took great courage. When Vichy came to power in 1940, he continued to defend the Spanish Republicans in France with the same zeal. Last month, on the day after the Chilean elections, it was rumored that the right would try to steal his victory; within twenty-four hours he had called a mass demonstration of all the left organizations in Santiago to defend the mandate of the people. Evidently he is still the bold fighter I knew in France.

Gonzalez Videla plans to form a representative Cabinet composed of members of the Radical Party, the Communist Party, the wing of the Socialist Party that supported him, and the Liberal Party and Falange, which opposed him. (Incidentally, the Chilean Falange has no connection with the Spanish fascist organization and has decided to change its name in order to avoid any confusion.) In the coming months we shall probably read a great deal about the "Communist dictatorship" in Chile. If we don't, it will be about the first time that a progressive President south of the Rio Grande has had a good press in the United States; usually the accolades are reserved for the Vargases and other "strong men" of the right. Lázaro Cárdenas, whose Presidency of Mexico was perhaps the most extraordinary event in Latin America since Bolívar, passed before the eyes of the American people rather in the unpopular role of a destroyer of "legitimate" foreign interests than as the great social reformer he was.

Latin America cannot even hope that the more progressive section of the American press will counteract the propaganda of the big news chains. With the exception of *The Nation* and a very few other publications, American liberals do not seem to care what is happening in the rest of the hemisphere. Day after day columnists and radio commentators describe outrages against democracy in Europe and Asia. But what about the Dominican Republic, where the most revolting dictatorship rules?

In Latin America one of the most significant social struggles in history is taking place; to the dramatic conflict between classes now in progress throughout the world there is added the clash of races, of white and Indian populations. Few people here seem to know that the outcome of this fight in the southern continent will create within the next ten years enormous political problems for the United States.

It is in this difficult period, when Latin America is threatened by Perón's aggressive fascism and torn by internal strife, that Gonzalez Videla takes leadership in Chile. He has the enthusiasm and youthful energy to succeed. His foreign policy is liberal and anti-nationalist. It is an interesting indication of his views that he has already proposed a plan for an over-all American citizenship which would apply equally to the nationals of every American republic. In the U. N. he will favor a strong democratic policy. His domestic program is progressive though not fully developed. Chile faces many economic difficulties, arising largely from its heavy dependence on foreign investments, particularly in copper and nitrates. Even more than most other Latin American countries, Chile is tied to Wall Street. The results are an impoverished proletariat, side by side with a very small group of wealthy families living like the grandees of two centuries ago, and a state of political instability constantly stimulated by a famine of foreign currency. The only way out in Chile, as in many other Latin American republics, is economic planning aimed at freeing the country from the domination of foreign capital. Gonzalez Videla should create a six-year plan for Chile to secure his independence of action during his term of office. The test will be his ability to improve the condition of the country sufficiently to resist the inevitable pressure of the right supported by financial interests abroad.

DEL VAYO

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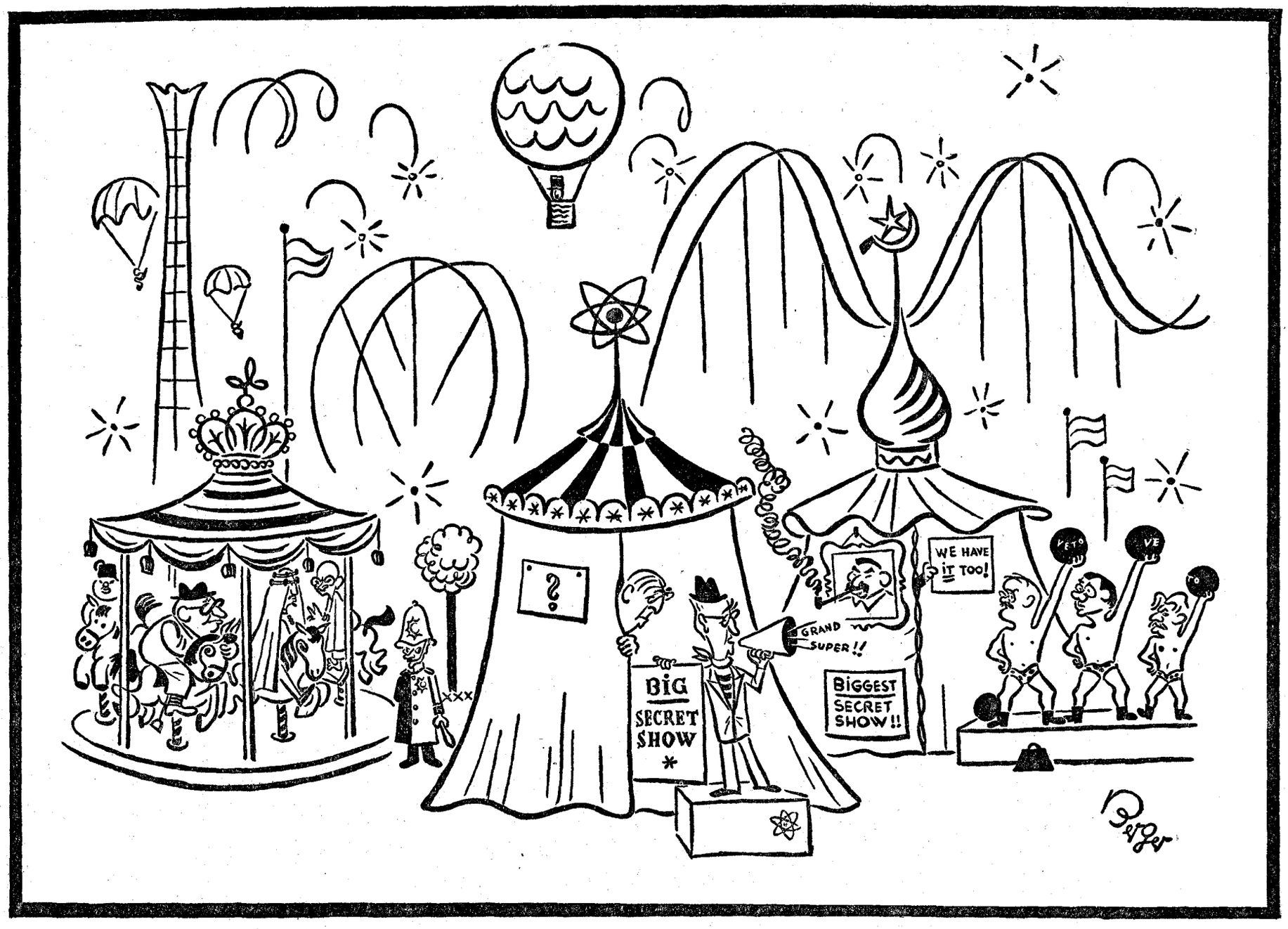

NEW WORLD'S FAIR

Drawing by Oscar Berger

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Postscript on Paris

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, October 16

MR. MOLOTOV had the last word in Paris. Waiting until after the valedictory speech from Mr. Bevin, who commended the conference for having "satisfactorily" accomplished its task of reviewing the five draft treaties and sending them back, with its recommendations, to the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Foreign Secretary of the U. S. S. R. treated the twenty-one nations to a homily in terms as harsh as those of an official party rebuke to deviationists. The conference had been unsatisfactory: efforts had been made to introduce "anti-democratic" clauses into the treaties; "remote" nations such as the British Dominions, India, and Ethiopia had been coerced by dollar-sterling diplomacy into opposing Russian proposals in relation to a Continent in which they had little or no legitimate interest; and certain of the Big Four had been guilty of abandoning some of their previous decisions. Here Mr. Molotov was clearly referring to the significant abstention on the part of Britain and the Dominions in the voting on the article in the Bulgarian treaty defining the frontier with Greece. The Big Four had previously agreed that the frontier should be that of January, 1941; and the Russians were quick to suspect that the British were going back on this decision in order to support at a later date all manner of revisionist claims by Greek monarchists. Bulgaria's interests, Molotov added, would be safeguarded by Russia. In fact, he would make it his business, when the Big Four came to the final drafting of the treaties, to insure that the "incorrect voting" in which the twenty-one nations had indulged would not affect their ultimate terms.

Unless the crossing of the ocean leads to a change of heart as well as sky, Mr. Molotov's attitude bids fair to produce a renewed deadlock when the Council of Foreign Ministers meets in New York. The ministers will, indeed, have to take up their task almost precisely where they left it at the end of their meeting in advance of the Paris conference. On the major issues which were then left open—the "freedom" of the Danube and the status of the Free Territory of Trieste—the Paris debates have done less than nothing to produce a spirit of accommodation: they have merely sharpened the Russian sense of being opposed by an Anglo-American bloc whose satellites extend from China to Peru. The concluding plenary sessions of the conference served merely for a restatement of all the old arguments and for a demonstration that when it came to counting heads the Anglo-American bloc outnumbered the Russian. The resolutions in favor of "equal opportunity" in the Danube valley and of the Anglo-American plan—modified only slightly by the adopted French compromise—for a regime in Trieste in which the governor would have overriding veto powers, and which is described bitterly by the Russians and Yugoslavs as "colonial," were carried by the two-thirds' majority needed to insure that they will receive serious consideration by the Council of Foreign Ministers; but Mr. Molotov has made it plain that though he may be prepared to "consider," he is in no mood readily to agree.

Argument as to rights and wrongs has little point. It may be held that the Russian thesis that commerce and navigation on the Danube should be the exclusive concern of the riparian states is a monstrous affirmation of the principle of closed economies, repugnant to liberal opinion as a system likely to impoverish rather than enrich the world. The reply of the Slav bloc is that in present circumstances "equal opportunity" in the Danube valley means that the economically weak Balkan countries would have no protection against infiltration by rapacious Anglo-American capitalism and the buying up of their key industries by foreign investors, to the detriment of the interests of their people. Equally, it may be argued that when the spokesmen of the Slav bloc contended that the constitution of Trieste should provide for a sovereign assembly and the limitation of the powers of the governor and the Security Council to insuring that the territory's statute was not openly violated, they were proposing a "democratic" solution. The British and American answer is that the democratic machinery envisaged by Mr. Molotov and Mr. Kardelj would be calculated to lead to an immediate vote for the incorporation of Trieste in Yugoslavia, and that the interests of the Triestini can be safeguarded only by keeping the popular assembly in leading strings held by the governor, with armed forces supplied by the Security Council at his call.

Pointing to the apparent British desire to champion monarchist Greece against Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania, to ostentatious American tenderness toward Hungary and Finland in the matter of reparations, and to the obvious reluctance of the Western bloc to withdraw their troops from the disputable no man's land of Trieste, the Russians have done their best at the con-

AYLMER VALLANCE is The Nation's *London correspondent and one of its staff contributors.*

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ference to pose as the protectors of the new "economic democracies" sprung from liberation. The majorities recorded against them in the plenary sessions' voting scarcely support the view that they have made good their claim outside the ranks of their clique of states. They will clearly make further efforts, both when the Big Four meet to draft the treaties and at the session of the Assembly of the United Nations. The British may expect harsh words from Mr. Molotov about the retention of British divisions in Greece and the Cabinet's decision, announced in Parliament this week, to go on paying for the arming and maintenance of the Royalist Greek army until March, 1947. The United States, as well as Britain, is likely to be arraigned by the Russians for its silver dealing with Franco Spain and for its reluctance—which the British government undoubtedly shares—to take any part in imposing an economic embargo against the Caudillo. He is an optimist indeed who looks to see the diplomatic exchanges of the next few weeks—and these, be it noted, will also be concerned with the future of the Dardanelles—making for greater big-power willingness to compromise in the drafting of the five treaties which the Paris conference has reviewed.

Beyond these treaties, moreover, lies the much more important and intractable problem of Germany. The view of a growing number of Labor M. P.'s, which I give for what it is worth, is that the fusion of the British and American zones of occupation has already proved to be a disaster. It seems likely to lead, if it is not already leading, to the rebuilding of western Germany's economy by the importation of American capital and the preservation of the great combines which nurtured Hitler's war machine—not indeed, under their old ownership, but in British and American hands—instead of along the Socialist lines acceptable to the Labor movement here. Every day that this process of rehabilitating Germany on capitalist lines continues, the chances diminish of any quadripartite solution for the future of Germany as a whole. It is idle for Field Marshal Smuts to express the hope that before another meeting of the twenty-one nations a veto will be placed on "ideologies." The clash between the American conception of the future of "democracy"—indorsed it would seem, by the British Labor government—and the Russian conception cannot be smoothed over by phrases. It is real, and it seems likely to bedevil Europe.

Big Business in Japan

BY HAROLD STRAUSS

WHEN the Civil Information and Education Section of SCAP (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers) got to work in Japan a year ago, one of the great unknowns was the political temper of the people. Despite the strenuous efforts of various army agencies, the available evidence was contradictory and inconclusive. Some officers expected the potential strength of radical movements to be considerable, while others thought that the leaders had been silenced, jailed, and cut off from contact with the people too long to have much influence. As for the business men, especially those just below the *zaibatsu* level who had suffered from monopolistic constraints, the old Japan hands among us smugly assumed that they would be our natural allies in setting up a "democratic" free-enterprise society.

What we first encountered was a frantic, ruthless scramble for food and shelter, an individualistic spirit of *sauve qui peut* in which no political organization could flourish. Political programs and politicians of all brands were treated with contempt and distrust bred by years of cynical dishonesty on the part of the Japanese government. But MacArthur was required by the directives of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to force political consciousness on the Japanese people. (Incidentally, the original directives were extremely liberal and were administered faithfully and vigorously until May, when occupation policies were engulfed by international tensions.) MacArthur met this requirement by heaping responsibilities, especially responsibility for internal economic policy, upon the interim Japanese government, and then encouraging popular criticism of that government. Full civil liberties were restored. Trade unions were nursed along. Radical leaders and intellectuals just released from jail were given radio time and encouraged to revive suppressed publications. By purging the paper-allocation committees, manipulating motion-picture scripts, and controlling radio programs we were able to exert a progressive influence on public opinion. We were even prepared to refrain from opposing a popular movement to overthrow the government.

HAROLD STRAUSS, chief editor of Alfred A. Knopf, spent a year in Tokyo as a captain on MacArthur's staff attached to the Civil Information and Education Division. Two other articles by him on occupation problems in Japan will appear in coming issues.

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In order to check on the effects of these measures, the C. I. and E. set up a sizable agency called the Media Analysis Division to report on the political overtones of the press, radio, and movies. Those of us who were connected with this division had an exceptionally good view of the crystallization of the new political forces in Japan. They were not in the least what we expected.

The Socialist and Communist leaders were swept up by the desperate physical needs of the people, and their efforts were diverted from broad social reforms to short-term welfare projects. The worst that the Military Police had to refrain from opposing was a few food riots. The party machinery of the once fairly numerous Social Democrats had been completely destroyed, and it could not be rebuilt on the abstractions of socialism. The intellectuals on whom we had counted to revive such vigorous progressive publications as *Kaizo* and *Chuo Koron* fizzled out lamentably. They vilified the Shidehara government vigorously enough, as everyone did, but advanced only the most timid practical program.

Their timidity had many causes, including the fact that they confronted, not a modern industrial society, but a semi-feudal agricultural society with industrial trimmings. Their strongest immediate inhibition, however, came from their inability to believe that Socialist reforms would be tolerated by the greatest remaining exponent of free enterprise. Yet they could see that many measures being enforced by MacArthur were of a progressive nature—some would say willy-nilly—and all through the winter and spring they wrestled mightily to resolve this paradox. Democracy was the key word. The United States stood for democracy. The Japanese learn things by rote, and they had been taught that democracy and capitalism were historically associated. How did socialism fit in? In hundreds of articles they strained and tortured their wits to provide an answer.

Some who claimed to be Socialists tried to prove that there was no real difference between free enterprise and socialism; some said that America was really Socialist and didn't know it. One humorless pedant blamed the paradox on the inexactness of American terminology, suggesting that just as the First Cavalry Division, then conspicuous in Tokyo, had no horses, so capitalist America was socializing its economic life because modern technology needs a mass base. Other writers advanced the Russian interpretation of democracy, or presented the concept of the welfare state. But all this was merely an intellectual exercise, for the conservative business men and bankers, free of such inhibitions, had stolen the principal plank in the Socialist platform and were shouting mightily for the nationalization of basic industry.

This maneuver by big business caused great surprise and, I must admit, some consternation in the Media Analysis Division. In assembling our list of publications for continuous surveillance and analysis we had carefully included a group roughly corresponding to the *Wall Street Journal*. Some of these were the forthright mouthpieces of banking or commercial interests. Some, not so forthright, we knew to be still surreptitiously financed by the *zaibatsu*. One particularly interesting magazine had a pipe line to the Ministry of Finance and efficiently tipped off speculators to impending fiscal moves. We opposed attempts to purge such publications, because it seemed better to have them out in the open than underground.

In January we noticed that these publications, with a coordination too perfect to be accidental, began a campaign for a planned economy and the nationalization of basic industries. Sometimes they evinced merely a resigned acceptance of the drift toward socialism, but more often they used a tone of positive advocacy. To cite only a few of the available examples, *Jitsugyo no Nippon* said: "Rehabilitation through capitalist policy cannot be expected. Only through state control of finance and production is rehabilitation possible." From *Daiamondo:* "Large-scale industry is essential to Japan's future economy, and with the liquidation of the trusts, that is possible only under nationalization." Again from *Daiamondo:* "It is no easy matter to restore production in an unsettled society with a limited supply of raw materials. Liberalism and free competition cannot solve such problems, for the competition for perpetually inadequate natural resources will be ruinous. A planned economy is necessary." From *Nippon Keizai Shimpo:* "Few financiers and industrialists believe nowadays in the old capitalist creed. Even in the United States not a few employers are advocating a revised capitalism. On the one hand, capitalism is undergoing a modification; on the other, socialism as advocated in Western countries does not deny a role to financiers and industrialists."

Keizai Mainichi carried the theme into politics, urging the Liberal Party to drop its out-of-date creed of economic liberalism—that is, free competition. *Jitsugyo no Nippon* praised the Progressive Party, generally regarded as the most conservative, for neither opposing a planned economy nor insisting upon free enterprise. On several occasions writers borrowed a theme from the left wing and expressed their grave fear that Japan could not make the necessary progress toward socialism while under the guardianship of the United States. In almost

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any issue of these publications the name of some corporation chairman or banker would be signed to a piece which declared, "Of course socialistic policies are necessary to save Japan today."

By spring the campaign took on new and astonishing forms. A director of a large public-utility company applauded "the tendency of labor groups to assume management of factories." The reason for this extraordinary view, also adopted by other industrialists, was somewhat clarified by *Daiamondo:* "If labor unions strive *only* for higher wages and the improvement of working conditions, Japanese industry will be paralyzed and in no position to compete for world markets. But if labor shares in policy-making, it will also have to share in responsibility for maintaining labor costs at a competitive level." But perhaps the most impressive contribution to the campaign was a seven-instalment, closely reasoned and brilliantly written analysis of socialism and its necessity in Japan by Itaro Miura, septuagenarian publisher and editor emeritus of *Toyo Keizai Shimpo.* Incidentally, the Media Analysis report on this series was withheld from its usual circulation to Allied missions in Tokyo, presumably on the ground that the Russians might learn something about socialism from it. The furor that the series caused, coming as it did from a man who had long been brother and servant to the tycoons, can only be compared to what would happen here if Henry Hazlitt suddenly took up the cudgels for socialism in America.

What lay behind this campaign? Of course I am not suggesting for a moment that all the reactionaries of Japan had suddenly turned Socialist. Nowadays fascists as well as Socialists are accomplished at nationalizing the means of production, but the movement lacked other fascist characteristics. In my opinion it was the counsel of despair, unconsciously shaped by the peculiar instincts of feudal collectivism which are never far below the surface in Japan and consciously motivated by a desire to be bailed out of a catastrophic economic situation. It was something like the rush of American business to the New Deal in early 1933.

Japanese big business had no plans ready for the eventuality of defeat. When the surrender came, those owners, managers, and superintendents in a position to do so plundered their own companies. They hid valuable machinery in mountain caves and removed supplies and inventories to their private storehouses for future peddling on the black market. Almost all Japanese, rich and poor, had been taught to believe that we would loot and bolshevize the country, and tried to get the jump on us. In many cases little remained of industrial enterprises but the bombed-out shells of factories and their equally shaky financial structures. Most businesses and all banks in Japan are bankrupt in every practical sense. War production, in which almost every firm had participated, was financed by government-guaranteed loans from private banks. Since these loans greatly exceeded the resources of the private banks, they had to be rediscounted at the Bank of Japan. In general, the debts of corporations to banks stand at about 150 per cent of their total assets. Since the government has been forbidden to honor its war-time guaranties, the corporations can only go into bankruptcy, manipulate their way out through uncontrolled inflation (also opposed by SCAP), or submit to nationalization. But under normal bankruptcy proceedings the owners of equities in both companies and banks would be wiped out, and the physical assets would pass to the Bank of Japan. This would be equivalent to nationalization without compensation—and needless to say, the idea of "just compensation" underlies all arguments for nationalization.

A second motive was the hope that the physical entities of large industrial enterprises could be held together by the government against the twin Allied pressures for liquidation of the cartels and for reparations. The dispersal of the cartels among small owners would be fatal to heavy industry. And the Japanese, like the Austrians, seem to believe that nationally owned industries will be better able to resist reparations claims. In this, big business is joined by the Socialists, for both pin their hopes on the retention of large-scale industry and the eventual recapture of export markets.

The last tangible motive was the conviction, frequently expressed, that private industry could not possibly compete freely for raw materials in an economy lacking in natural resources and certain to have its imports restricted for a long time to come. With monopolistic rigging to keep down the cost of raw materials no longer possible and with wages booming thanks to intensive unionization, public ownership seemed the only answer.

But there were also intangible motives. As I have said, collectivist solutions are never very far from the Japanese mind. More sinister, there was some evidence that the industrial bigwigs were not at all reluctant to let their property pass to the government since they hoped to control that government again when the Americans with their foolish insistence on democracy were gone. They remembered that they had succeeded in circumventing all the liberal provisions of the Meiji constitution, and they hoped to do no less for the MacArthur constitution.

In June, however, the Japanese capitalists abruptly changed their minds. They were quick to perceive that under the pressure of international events, notably U. S.-U. S. S. R. tension, the whole temper and tone of the occupation was changing. The softening of the American attitude toward the Japanese economy is a story in itself and must be told separately. The effect of this softening upon the Japanese was that big business had no further need for the counsels of despair. It is now opposing a nationalization program.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Price Decontrol and After

UNLIKE many of my friends, I believe that the President chose the best of several bad possible policies when he decontrolled meat and announced that the already existing program of relaxing controls would be accelerated. I do not, of course, share the simple-minded view that when prices are once again determined by supply and demand, so far as private monopolies permit, our economic troubles will be cured. But I do think that there is nothing so bad as a law which cannot be enforced.

Even during the war, when they were strongly supported by public sentiment, government efforts to stabilize the economy and secure a fair distribution of a limited supply of civilian goods were not too successful; both Canada and Britain developed far more effective programs. And with the end of the war Washington put up but a feeble resistance to demands for business as usual. Even before V-J Day many of the important controls which served to check hoarding were abolished, and with the end of the fighting there was a precipitate rush to abolish rationing. These actions were the fault of the Administration, but the biggest responsibility for the breakdown of price control belongs to Congress, which ignored repeated warnings last spring that by delaying action on the renewal of the OPA's powers it was inevitably encouraging producers to hold goods off the market.

The meat famine last June was the most dramatic example of withholding, and its perpetrators were richly rewarded when Congress at the last possible minute passed a price-control bill that the President very properly vetoed. The subsequent price holiday really marked the end of effective stabilization, for the second bill, passed at the end of July and reluctantly signed by Mr. Truman, was an abortion which commanded neither public respect nor public cooperation. It left the hands of the OPA tied in many cases; it discriminated unfairly between different types of goods; it introduced an absurd division of authority; it encouraged an exodus of trained OPA personnel and so disrupted administration of the law. Lacking vitality and threatened with death when the next Congress convened, it inevitably led to a new bout of hoarding.

When stock raisers and packers started their sitdown strike last month, the government was helpless. It had no power to compel the cattle men to send their beasts to market or to force the packers to buy at prices which, they alleged, would involve them in losses. It is all very well to talk of requisitioning steers, but even if the President's war-emergency powers could have been stretched to cover such an operation, the organization of a grand round-up of the Western ranges would have needed months of preparation and an army of federal agents.

With the elimination of ceilings and the discarding of the wage-stabilization machinery, will our economy set off on an inflationary bender? Personally, I doubt it; in fact, it would surprise me if the cost of living rose as much in the next four months as it has in the last four since OPA was hamstrung. What we are likely to get is some wild fluctuations, with prices of different commodities moving in different directions. The immediate response to Mr. Truman's decontrol move was a fantastic jump in livestock prices which, if held, would almost restrict meat-eating to millionaires. But the simultaneous rush of hogs and steers to the markets indicated that such prices could hardly be sustained. At the same time there was a significant break in grains, particularly corn. With the evacuation of overflowing feed lots and pigpens, now that the livestock interests have won their gamble, the demand for corn, which is in abundant supply, is likely to be curtailed to an extent that will reduce its price far below recent quotations. And in the long run corn and meat prices tend to move in the same direction.

Another significant development was the sharp fall in cotton quotations on October 16. Raw cotton, of course, has long been free from any restrictions and has been rising steadily for months, thanks to an unprecedented demand and an unusually short crop. Textile manufactures have been under ceilings, but there has been steady and successful pressure to force them upward. Thus the situation of both the raw material and the end-products has been such as to encourage speculative hoarding. Now it is anticipated that textiles will be among the early candidates for decontrol, and insiders have begun to wonder whether that may not loose a flood of products on the market just at the moment when consumers, having satisfied their most urgent needs, are showing signs of diminishing eagerness to buy.

The textile industry is not the only line of business in which decontrol may bring on the market a sufficient volume of goods to prevent prices from rising very much, if at all. Recently attention has been drawn to the increasing rate of inventory accumulation. The dollar value of all stocks held by manufacturers, wholesalers, and retailers is now more than twice as great as in 1939, and, it has been suggested, we may be in for the kind of inventory inflation that produced the 1937 depression. Taking into account the rise in prices and the much greater turnover now as compared to 1939, the inventory total does not seem unduly large, provided that sales to consumers are maintained on the present scale. However, should a sharp increase in prices be met by increased sales resistance, there might very easily develop a rush to dump inventories which represent withholdings for a higher price rather than legitimate trade needs.

In this event it is probable that retailers and wholesalers would cancel orders wherever possible, while manufacturers cut production and pay rolls. That could start the deflationary ball rolling, and once it does start it is likely to gather momentum, for then we shall find consumers holding back in the expectation of filling their needs more cheaply by exercising patience. Many good authorities believe that this is the immediate danger confronting us and predict that by the middle of 1947 we shall have a collapse in commodity markets and seven to eight million unemployed. If they are right the problem to be solved is how to get over the inflationary crest without too precipitate a descent on the other side.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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In One Ear

BY LOU FRANKEL

WHAT box-office sales are to the theater, Hooperatings are to radio—a gauge of popularity. Since my mail shows that people will jealously defend their own taste in programs against the taste of the average listener, a brief survey of popularity ratings may be useful in enabling readers to criticize the mass taste intelligently and at the same time appraise their own likes and dislikes. Always remember that program quality will be improved only by listening and then criticizing, not by criticizing without listening.

Network Hooperatings have been compiled since 1934 and are published fortnightly. They are based on coincidental telephone queries in thirty-three major cities in which the four major networks have stations. Since network programs set the pace for both quantity and quality, it is necessary for the output of them all to be available if the conclusions drawn from the answers are to be valid. Geographical, numerical, and educational differentials are allowed for, in accordance with standard research procedure.

In the interest of brevity, the data presented below will be based primarily on evening, sponsored programs—more people listen at night and most of the evening programs are sponsored. Each Hooperating covers about 150 commercial programs, which are graded for popularity from as low as 1.2 to highs of 20 and 30. Ratings are compiled in quarter-hour periods and show the comparative appeal of every sponsored program broadcast during that period.

To facilitate a tabular presentation I have divided all programs into seven categories—dramatic, variety, quiz, news and comment, popular music, concert music, and miscellaneous. The first table shows the relative popularity of each category over the years 1944, 1945, and 1946 to date. It is interesting to note that the figures in the third column, even though the season of peak listening is still to come, confirm previous popularity trends. At the end of the war, news, as was to be expected, fell off badly. Concert music came up.

POPULARITY RATING OF PROGRAM TYPES

	1944	*1945*	*1946*
Variety	12.6	10.6	10.1
Quiz	10.6	10.4	9.4
Dramatic	9.7	9.5	8.6
Popular Music	7.0	7.3	7.6
News and Comment	6.2	6.6	5.4
Concert Music	5.8	5.3	5.6
Miscellaneous	5.5	5.7	4.9

The figures in the following table show what percentage of all programs is available in each of the seven categories.

AVAILABILITY PERCENTAGES BY TYPE

	1944	*1945*	*1946*
Dramatic	25.4	29.1	34.2
Variety	18.9	21.0	18.8
Popular Music	17.8	15.0	15.3
News and Comment	16.3	13.9	11.9
Miscellaneous	8.4	7.1	5.8
Quiz	7.4	7.5	7.6
Concert Music	5.8	6.4	6.4

If you compare this table with the preceding one, you will see that the sponsors are buying the programs that audiences prefer. Notice how, as interest in news lagged, the sponsors also shied away from news and comment. Dramatic programs take first place because a hit dramatic idea will get high ratings and does not cost so much as a variety show; there are usually three or four dramatic shows among the first fifteen in the program popularity ratings. When a variety show clicks, it rates higher, but it is more of a gamble and more expensive. Quiz shows cost less to produce but are even more difficult to make jell.

Clearly, the four types of program at the top of each chart are the prime fare of both listener and sponsor. Talk and discussion programs, excellent as they may be, are not sponsored and do not rate; high-class musical programs show a slight upward trend.

Here, then, are the preferences of radio's mass audience. To what extent do they coincide with your own?

WORTH HEARING

COLUMBIA WORKSHOP (CBS, Saturdays). First and still best of the experimental dramatic programs. Was tarnished for a while, but the gleam of quality is coming through again.

MR. DISTRICT ATTORNEY (NBC, Wednesdays). One of the good mystery "drammers" of radio; especially good when it packs a public-service message.

BATTLE OF THE COMMENTATORS (MBS, Wednesdays). Cecil Brown and Merryle S. Rukeyser give a top current event the verbal once over. Stimulating.

GANGBUSTERS (ABC, Saturdays). One of radio's first thrillers and still a favorite. For a taste of what makes radio run, tune in.

DID YOU HEAR?

FRED ALLEN (NBC, Sundays) give commercial radio a going over to the tune of Gilbert and Sullivan's "Mikado"? Superb radio, priceless satire, and expert humor. If you missed it, a note to NBC may get a repeat performance.

The Nation *editors have been gratified at the enthusiastic response to the first columns of Lou Frankel. The fan mail has been heavy. Some letters have raised interesting questions that Mr. Frankel will answer either on the letter page or in future columns. We want to make this column as useful as possible to our "listening audience." Write and tell us what you think of In One Ear and suggest topics you would like to have discussed.*

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Graves's Own Christ

KING JESUS. By Robert Graves. Creative Age Press. $3.

THIS book should have the excellent effect of forcing the poetic intelligence on the attention of the seminaries. Mr. Graves proposes what amounts to a heresy. He does so not through official channels, so to speak, but by means of a "work of art," confronting the Christian imagination directly with the best that a remarkable modern mind can devise to trouble it. This had remained to be done. With hostile present philosophies the church has coped well enough to give its apologists a rather contented air; they have taken small account of the claims of poetry because poetry as an improved religion has persisted in catacombs of its own. Mr. Graves now emerges, courting whatever persecution he can get for the honor of his brethren—all those to whom poetic intuition and intelligence are the highest grounds of belief.

If there were lions to face—or the stake—would Mr. Graves face them? I am inclined to think so. This may indicate how he differs from George Moore, to make the obvious comparison. "The Brook Kerith" is a smooth work of writing (or rather, I believe, of dictation) but scarcely more a challenge to Christianity than the weaker work of Renan. Moore practiced his art, and incidental irony, for its own sake, for pleasure. "King Jesus" is more formidable. What controls the point in this book is a hand neither light nor grave but muscular, intense but ambiguous, arrogant and bland. The unchristened Welsh visionary in the grandson of von Ranke, Robert Graves has a strong regimental quality; I would not put death for poetry beyond him. And he is "original." As one sensible critic has remarked, Graves's "Claudius" books are simply immortal, in the way "Gulliver's Travels" is immortal, steeped in the ultimate literary dye.

The world is so far from obviously conforming to any of the Christian postulates that a true poet, if he deals with them at all, faces great trials of honesty and taste. Unless the spirit descend to startle him, converting the incredible to the assured, he cannot even write as a Christian; but even if he does, his agony amid paradoxes will not soon come to an end. Eliot's poems, profoundly resigned to that agony, are evidence enough of this. At best there is little to choose—and little power of choice in any case—between "what can be done" with faith and without it; and in our time it is not the poetry of faith that excels. The point that I am getting at is that it should be possible for a Christian—but particularly a Christian writer—to find Graves's perfectly un-Christian "explanation" of Christ's life more fascinating than any he ever heard.

The explanation has all the authority of Graves's curious learning. He suggests this himself in his Commentary (not altogether happily, I think, in that he seems to trade for a moment on his reputation as Imperial historian for the Augustan Age). The learning is not only classical, as heretofore, but rabbinical and anthropological as well. Going on the hypothesis that the Roman governor of Judaea must have had a Roman, administrative reason for placarding Jesus as "King of the Jews," and arguing that as a legalist any Roman governor would have been most impressed by considerations of title, Mr. Graves has concluded that Jesus was actually the legitimate heir to the throne of Herod.

It is a theory of great ingenuity, and it is Mr. Graves's own. In support of it he quotes, as one epigraph of the book, Talmudic passages of the second or third century in which Jesus is referred to as "of the wicked land of Edom" and "near to the kingdom." King Herod the Great grew up as an Edomite (of Esau's tribe); Mr. Graves sees his singularly bloody reign as the effort of a lifetime to restore to Edom the birthright lost to Jacob, at the same time restoring to the Jews the worship of Set, the Egyptian sun god, represented in Jewish tradition as Seth, Adam's son. This is all neat enough. Monarchs everywhere in those ages created or remodeled the institutions of religion, and certainly the Jewish kings after Moses were not above adding to the Law. Herod, swayed by his religious madness, might have had such designs as Mr. Graves ascribes to him. He might, too, have murdered his eldest son, Antipater, whose mother was the Edomite, Dora, to fulfil an ancient ritual prescription that the king should sacrifice his heir—as Abraham consented to do for Jehovah.

The cultist survival in Palestine, even under strict Jewish law, of ancient Egyptian and Canaanite religion is one of Mr. Graves's assumptions. Jesus's mother, Miriam, was herself born "under the old dispensation," as the High Priest, Simeon, calls it—conceived by her mother at the Feast of Tabernacles, which was still a fertility festival in the cult of the Great Mother Goddess of the Mediterranean peoples, whose worship had always required ritual prostitution. Graves represents Miriam and the noble Prince Antipater secretly married by the High Priest, who wishes thus to unite the royal line of David and the royal Herodian house. Simeon thinks that their child, born at the close of the fourth millennium, might well be the Messiah awaited by Israel.

I find a good deal of austere charm in the story of Miriam's sojourn with her cousin Elizabeth, her faintness when she hears the report that Antipater's life is threatened by his father, her marriage after his death to the kind old man chosen for her by Simeon, and the birth at Bethlehem at the winter solstice when the tribesmen of that region believed that not only the sun but time stood still. Graves endows the child Jesus in Egypt with a prodigy's powers of mind and will and more than a prodigy's command of the supernatural. These powers are understood, however, as attributes of supreme royalty: of the sacred kingship with which Jesus is to be anointed (christos). In Graves's version Jesus's godhead is never by himself or others conceived as equivalent to Jehovah's; it is, rather, similar to the divinity of Dionysos or of the Babylonian Tammuz. He is not the Word incarnate, for Mr. Graves rejects "the late and propagandist" Gospel of St. John, but an incarnation, in the historical, intellectual, and

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ascetic man, of mythical attributes and destinies: a sage, a poet, a "wonder worker," and a magnificent immortal spirit whose perfection has but one flaw, a flaw fatal to his Messiahship.

Jesus's mission, as he understands it, is to destroy, on Jehovah's behalf, "the power of the Female," that is, of the Great Goddess who is "mother, bride, and layer-out to fallen man." He conquers Anger, Fear, and Lust in his forty days of trial in the wilderness, conquers the Goddess's priestess, Mary Magdalen, in her underground House of Spirals, and when he takes as his queen the third Mary, Lazarus's sister, he maintains his chastity, denying her a child. But his inflexibility is his undoing, for he must then restore Mary's dead brother to her by pronouncing aloud the Holy Name of God, and for this he knows the penalty: he must lay down his life for his friend. Jesus fails, therefore, because he is wrong in believing that the Female's time is done. His defeat makes him a sharer not only in human death—which he seeks, aware of its necessity—but, it is powerfully implied, in the whole mystery of human destiny and effort.

With this skeletal theme the gospel according to Mr. Graves is enacted in a Holy Land to which we have never been before (just as his Rome was an unsuspected city)—a vexing province of fanatics to the cynical Romans, a mountainous garden to the people, God's footstool to the seers and scrupulous expounders of the Law. Those who believe in Jesus's kingship and witness his ritual laming and anointing in a grove of the terebinth oak are Kenite tribesmen, nomads, inheritors of the older faith of Mesopotamia and Canaan, which is compatible also with the religious wisdom of the Essenes, in whose monastery Jesus has prepared for his mission. There are brilliant passages of exposition on Old Testament texts, on astronomical lore and linguistic and symbolic magic—the wisdom of which Jesus is portrayed as a divine master. Besides all this, most but by no means all of the New Testament incidents and sayings are given new meanings in Mr. Graves's context. It is a triumph of perverse plausibility to have made Judas the intelligent disciple whom Jesus commands to betray him; only in this case it is the "late and propagandist" gospel of St. John—elsewhere disavowed—that Graves follows in reporting the incident.

At this point criticism can perhaps begin by noting that the logic pursued by Mr. Graves in his gospel is a "poetic" logic—that is, a rationale of accepting what is consistent with a certain effect and rejecting what is not consistent with it. I hope I have acknowledged sufficiently that the effect achieved in "King Jesus" is quite a wonderful one; and I hope, too, that in speaking of poetic "effect" generally I convey no disrespect, for I understand by it all the validity a poem can have. What is so intensely interesting here is that a mind convinced of that validity and of no other, trusting, that is, to the odd personal vision as best arrived at and therefore hostile by its very nature to the claim of public validity made for Christian truth, should seriously propose an esoteric alternative to Christianity as more satisfying to human intelligence and should at the same time affront the intelligence when necessary, demonstrating time after time the palpable distortions his faith compels him to practice on the simplest matters of record.

Mr. Graves has written this book, as usual, with the pen of a contemporary, an Alexandrian scholar named "Agabus the Decapolitan," and this is a shield for Mr. Graves, since an unknown quantity of his statements about Christ and the Christians can be laid to Agabus's limitations of sympathy and information—or rather to his dismissal of such limitations as actually exist in favor of hypothesis presented as fact. Mr. Graves constructed his account of the relationship between Jesus, Jehovah, and the Great Goddess largely on the basis of recent archaeological studies in Palestine. The known facts are fragmentary and the subject of cautious monographs. It appears that some details of some Jewish observances resembled the prior rites of the heathen—for example, booths of greenery at the Feast of Tabernacles recalled the Mesopotamian and Canaanite fertility festivals. With such data to go on, Graves's imagination, traversing the historical darkness like lightning from horizon to horizon, created a religious Israel all his own.

The lay reader may leave to the seminarists the task of examining this book in detail, but two examples may be noted as typical of Mr. Graves's method. In each case Agabus the Decapolitan is speaking in his capacity as a kind of intelligence officer to undeceive posterity.

"In a somewhat obscene passage in the book of the Prophet Ezekiel is to be found Jehovah's bill of divorcement against his two partner-Goddesses, who are there named Aholah and Aholibah." In Ezekiel, Chapter 23, these names are expressly given to Samaria and Jerusalem, and have nothing to do with goddesses; the passage concerns Jehovah's displeasure with the behavior of Israelite communities.

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by DR. GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

Staff Director, Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress

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"His [Jesus's] usual preface was the twice-repeated Hebrew word *Amen*, which literally means 'He was firm' and which he used in the sense of 'Jehovah has firmly declared.' The Gentile Christians, wishing to exalt Jesus into a God, translate the irksome *Amen* merely as 'Verily.' . . ." For all its assurance this is perfectly wild. Not only was there a Hebrew adverb, *Amen*, meaning "so be it" or "surely," but in the Gospels Jesus invariably followed it by attributing to Himself, not Jehovah, what He was going to say with the words "I say to you."

When the intelligence report is submerged in the narrative, Mr. Graves writes with suavity and beauty, and it is certainly true that he has, as he says, great respect for Jesus. But in passages like those I have quoted there is not only inaccuracy but, as they multiply, a certain anti-Christian pettishness or uneasiness that all Mr. Graves's powers cannot quite dispel. It is, I think, only a consciousness on his part that although the Christ of the church simply won't do for him, his Christ really won't do for anyone. Orthodox Catholics, he concedes, "can afford to disregard my story as irrelevant to their faith; Catholicism is an incontrovertibly logical system of thought, once it is granted that many of the events mentioned in the Gospels transcend human understanding and must therefore be taken on faith"—a premise he says he rejects. But the absurdity of this position must be clear to him, for his Jesus brings Lazarus back to life and himself survives death, and the comparatively minor miracles reported in the Gospels transcend human understanding not more but less than some of the purely magical events Graves has substituted for them. He has, in effect, rejected the infinitely abstract mysticism of St. John's Gospel in favor of a mysticism concerned with oak trees—fragrant to the imagination but theologically not in the same class. ROBERT FITZGERALD

BRIEFER COMMENT

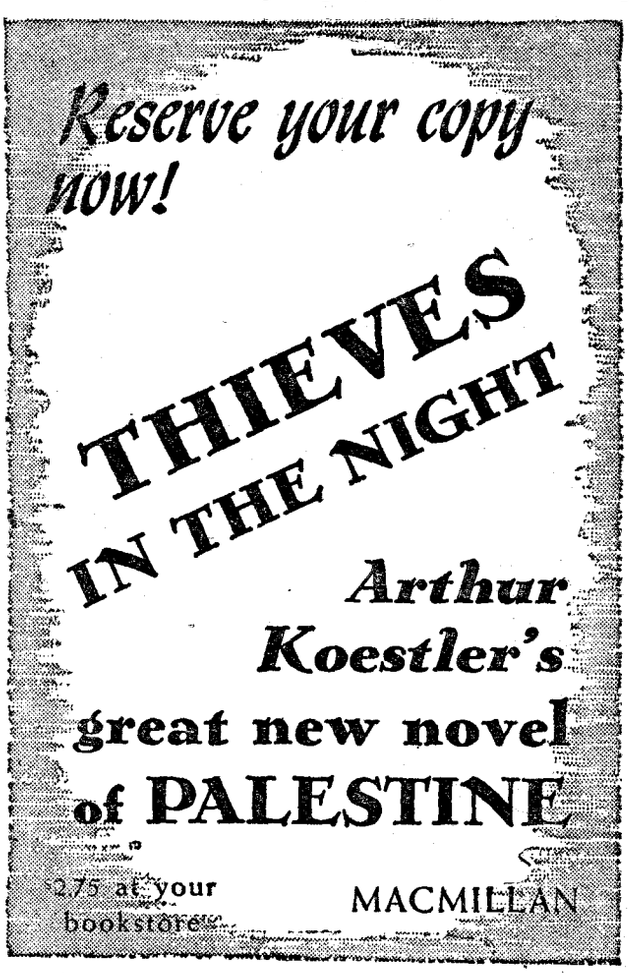
A Plan to Bell the Cat

AN INTELLIGENT CONSERVATIVE'S PROGRAM for full employment and capacity production is offered by Harold Loeb in "Full Production Without War" (Princeton, $3.50). Mr. Loeb, author of the "Chart of Plenty" and the "National Survey of Potential Product Capacity," set out to see how the potentialities revealed by his investigations could be translated into actualities. In the process he acquired an enormous respect for the price economy, without, however, losing faith in his goal. He came to the conclusion that planning and the restoration of free competition were alike impossible, and that the only hope was to make the existing system of monopolistic competition produce full employment and abundance. This book tells why and how. It is closely reasoned, and deserves careful study by both progressives and conservatives. It is therefore a great pity that it is not more readable. There are far too many repetitions, involved sentences, pedantic phrases—Ph.D. jargon.

Mr. Loeb's argument starts from the fact that efficiency is constantly increasing. This makes possible increased wealth, which might be "released" by lower prices or higher wages, but in the main is not and can't be. Instead, it gives us unemployment and depression. The cure is the creation and distribution of new money. But if the spending of this is left to "private agencies," too much of it will go to increasing plant and equipment ("excess capital formation") and too little to consumer goods. Hence the necessity for a broad, "non-competitive" public-works program, taxes to prevent excess capital formation, and a steadily rising minimum wage, with a minimum family income of $4,000 as the goal. This is ingenious, coherent, and logical—though keeping the works program "non-competitive" might present unsuspected difficulties. But would "free enterprise" accept it? That is a question Mr. Loeb seems hardly to have thought of. Yet it is crucial. EUGENE FORSEY

Race and the Church

BUELL G. GALLAGHER, professor of Christian ethics at the Pacific School of Religion, candidly acknowledges the moral bankruptcy of the Christian church so far as its attitude to the non-Caucasian races is concerned in "Color and Conscience" (Harper, $2.50). For when Bilbo declared, without being repudiated by the church, that the white man was the custodian of the gospel of Jesus Christ, he did not know or rather preferred not to remember (a) that St. Paul fundamentally opposed any division of Christianity along racial lines, (b) that until the seventh century a considerable percentage of Christians were colored people, including some of the greatest Christian theologians, and (c) that the identification of Christianity with the Caucasian peoples, an obvious deviation from Christian principles, merely afforded a cheap



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excuse for bringing the black heathen "under the gracious civilizing influences of the Christian faith—to save his soul by buying his body, thereby profiting the master in this world and the slave in the next."

The author warns that the colored peoples, all over the globe, outnumbering the whites two to one, are fed up with white imperialism and world domination, and he demands for them full social and political freedom *now*: "A peace built on white supremacy is the guarantee of tomorrow's global war on race lines." A first step in the direction of progress would be the abandonment of the fundamental confusion between supremacy and superiority: "The first is an undeniable fact of the present world; the second is an invention of the mind to defend the first." Church and school should stress that while differences between individuals exist, there is no such thing as superior and inferior races.

Turning to the American scene, the professor insists that equality of opportunity *without* social equality, which more liberal-minded whites are willing to grant the American Negro, and the meeker ones among the colored people are ready to accept, would not solve the problem. The caste system must be utterly destroyed: "The real significance of color caste lies not in color, but in caste. With caste removed, color ceases to have irrational overtones attached to it." Even Bilbo's slightly more liberal colleague from Mississippi, Senator Eastland, would be shocked by the author's quite logical demand that all taboos be removed from intermarriage between colored people and whites.

A church without Christian ethics is dead, the professor exclaims, and in this ardent and sincere appeal to Christian conscience he urges clergy to abandon the dangerous identification with white supremacy which he regards as a serious internal threat to the church itself. One deplores that in this otherwise comprehensive study the economic undercurrent behind the cry for white supremacy is not emphasized. It is less ignorance than racial egotism that makes men like Bilbo and Eastland, as well as their ilk abroad, stubbornly cling to the folly of racialism. It is the old fallacy of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. Professor Ashley Montague recently suggested that the theory of racism was precipitated by the slaveholders' necessity to prove the inferiority of the slaves in order to ward off the dangerous arguments of the Abolitionists. Hitler admitted to Rauschning that he knew in the scientific sense there was no such thing as race, but that he needed that precarious concept to further his plans. Professor Gallagher should remember that the church will fight against color bias efficiently only from the moment it prefers to be the spokesman for all those that labor and are heavy laden rather than to be a tool of the rich.

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An Analogical Empiricist

WILLIAM JAMES WROTE in his Hibbert Lectures: "Let empiricism once become associated with religion, as hitherto, through some strange misunderstanding, it has become associated with irreligion, and I believe that a new era of religion as well as of philosophy will be ready to begin." So spoke the prophet, and one wonders why the naturalists have not had to sweat as much blood in explaining it away as the Catholics in making palatable the *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*. Perhaps the answer lies in James's cautious, equivocal, un-Kierkegaardian approach to the whole question, which has not satisfied the orthodox either inside or outside the fold.

In "Religion of a Scientist" (Pantheon, $3.50) Dr. Lowrie of Princeton, Kierkegaard's translator, has undertaken to introduce the work of James's chief source of inspiration in religious matters, Gustav Theodor Fechner. In the preface to the one other book of Fechner's available in English, "The Little Book of Life After Death," James speaks of him as "a philosopher in the great sense of the term . . . one of those multitudinously organized crossroads of truth." In this day of specialization, of the great and the "smelly little" orthodoxies, Fechner will appeal to most readers as a charming curiosity, a dealer in probabilities and the cosmological *quien sabe*. Psychologists may remember him as the founder of experimental methods in psychology and the notion of the "threshold"; physicists may have heard of his theory of psycho-physics, or botanists of his work on the soul life of plants, later elaborated by Francé; but very few will think of this immense scientific labor as only the groundwork for a new natural theology. Like Goethe, despite his inductive precision, he relied chiefly on reasoning from analogy: Goethe called it "graciously disposing one to belief." And as in Goethe also, there are overtones of Spinoza, Plato, and a Leibnizian optimism. An autumn haze of mid-nineteenth-century confidence mellows all of Fechner and makes him a strange cross between Emerson and William James. The materialism of the time was cruder and easier to combat than

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our modern materialisms; the faith-for-faith's-sake argument seemed more innocent than it does now.

Dr. Lowrie had an almost hopeless task in attempting to distil the essence out of Fechner's fifty-one published works, which range from minute discussions of plant *mores* to poetic rhapsodies and pseudo-medical lampoons on such subjects as A Proof That the Moon Is Made of Iodine. The book leaves you unsatisfied—and a little bewildered—which is what the editor seemed to intend. I found his commentary lively and interesting. R. W. FLINT

FICTION IN REVIEW

FOR some reason the wonderful central idea of Kenneth Fearing's "The Big Clock" (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50) calls to mind an otherwise unmemorable novel, "The Chinese Room," which could boast a character who experimented on his own mind by writing himself anonymous letters. In Mr. Fearing's anti-detective story—since we always know whodunit, Mr. Fearing's book can scarcely be called a mystery—the basic notion is even more beguiling. Here a young man is appointed to supervise a hunt for himself, though he knows that to discover himself means death. Unfortunately, the resolution of this dilemma is not equal to its invention: the conclusion of Mr. Fearing's novel is as fortuitous as the arrival of the marines in an old movie thriller. But we cannot have everything, even in books whose only purpose is entertainment, and despite the letdown of its ending, "The Big Clock" is one of the pleasantest suspense stories to appear in a long time. And this is not a matter only of its central device. There is also its light-fingered but telling satire of the intellectual high jinks that go on high in the offices of *Crimeways,* where the hero is employed. Of the several novelists who have had their fun with a certain fabulous magazine empire, Mr. Fearing is the most intelligent and economical.

Disappointment is an inadequate word to describe the chief emotion with which anyone who enjoyed Christine Weston's "Indigo" will read her new novel, "The Dark Wood" (Scribner's, $2.75). Mrs. Weston's book has several threads of narrative. First, it is the story of a young war widow who refuses to believe that her husband is dead until she meets another man with an uncanny resemblance to him. Second, it is the story of this resembler, a veteran who has returned from the war to find that his wife no longer loves him. Third, it is the story of the resembler's wife and her attempts to get a divorce so that she can marry her noncombatant lover. But neither separately nor in their interweaving do any of these threads guide us to whatever Mrs. Weston had in mind when she conceived her novel—except that one comes to suspect she was probably trying to say something healthy about readjustment to post-war situations. The very dense "wood, which by no path was marked" through which Mrs. Weston's characters wander is equally uncharted for her readers.

In T. H. White's "Mistress Masham's Repose" (G. P. Putnam's Sons, $2.75) a little orphan girl of ten who is being reared by a cruel governess and a wicked vicar discovers an island inhabited by the descendants of Swift's Lilliputians. Her guardians want to capture the tiny creatures for a circus, but with the help of a benevolent cook and an eccentric scholar the little girl outwits these exploiters. This is one of those books—on which the English seem to have a corner—designed for children of all ages. But also in the way of such English fantasies, "Mistress Masham's Repose" is far better than it sounds in outline. It is literate, graceful, and malicious, not merely whimsical, altogether a really charming contrivance. DIANA TRILLING

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

EUGENE O'NEILL'S first play in twelve years is "The Iceman Cometh," now current at the Martin Beck Theater. The performance starts at 5:30 in the afternoon and runs, with a short intermission for dinner, until the conventional 11 p. m. Probably not more than half of the theatergoing public gives more than reluctant consent to the accepted proposition that O'Neill is first among American playwrights, but most of the members of even that reluctant half go grumbling to the appointed playhouse at the appointed unaccustomed hour. If Mr. O'Neill has so much as the normal human love of power, then the spectacle presented must in itself be sweet. No other American dramatist would dare ask what he asks. In all the world only he and Shaw can give what amounts to command performances and have the command obeyed. Before the curtain went up on the first night, tickets had been sold many weeks ahead, and even the grumblers will fight for the privilege of being allowed to grumble.

In the daily press the old irreconcilable differences of opinion were again spread out at full length. In one evening paper the bewildered reader might learn from the reviewer of the published text that "The Iceman Cometh" is a ponderous, incompetent bore and on an adjoining page find the drama critic expressing the opinion that it is, on the contrary, one of the indisputable masterpieces of modern writing for the stage. Precisely this difference of opinion just as sharply expressed has, moreover, been the prevailing rule since the days, now some three decades removed, when Mr. O'Neill's earliest pieces were being performed at the Provincetown Playhouse. And it is a significant fact which I have never seen noted that no one ever thinks of him as merely a pretty good playwright or maintains that he is, let us say, the second- or third-best American writer for the stage. By common and this time enthusiastic consent, he is either the first or the twenty-fifth, either great or contemptible. And though this, of course, does not prove that either the one judgment or the other is sound, it remains nevertheless a point in his favor. Even the very worst judges seldom confuse the excellent with the pretty good, and genius is almost never mistaken for mediocrity, though it is, often enough, denounced as incompetence.

The new play will not change anyone's opinion. Twelve years may have set Mr. O'Neill a little more firmly in his ways, may have made him even less concerned than before to placate any spectator whose expectations are not those which he is able to fulfil, but "The Iceman Cometh" might have been produced in 1934 instead of 1946 for any observable difference between it and its predecessors in theme, or mood, or technique. Here, in the back room of a saloon below which no lower depth exists, a group of broken men await the coming of a traveling salesman who has promised them a share in one of his periodical drunks. Presently he appears, strangely transformed, to announce that he has saved himself and that he is prepared to save them. They must stop putting off until tomorrow that first step on the road back which each has for so long been promising himself, and for a time it seems that the traveling salesman is some sort of Third-Floor-Back or Stranger-in-the-House. But presently it appears that the reform he has in mind is of no conventional kind. What he wants is that each should destroy in himself the last torturing hope, learn once for all that he cannot ever do what he has thought of doing, and then, like the traveling salesman himself, accept the freedom which comes when the last illusion is lost. How he himself has lost it is the dramatic secret not revealed until near the end, and it need not be told here, but among the group to whom he preaches only one, or possibly two, becomes his convert. The rest return to the bottle with whose help they can still delude themselves, and the moral seems to be that freedom from illusion is the freedom of death, that the man who has conquered the liar hope has conquered life also. Because the action takes place in a saloon, "The Iceman Cometh" has already been compared to Saroyan's "The Time of Your Life," and it has also, more reasonably, been compared to "The Lower Depths." But in theme at least the more meaningful parallel is with "The Wild Duck," where "the life illusion" is similarly presented as the shameful prop without which most men, at least, cannot stand.

Eddie Dowling, for the Theater Guild, has staged the play with great care, and though there is really no star, no virtuoso performance likely to entertain the spectator to whom the play is not in itself interesting, it is set forth with full competence and in a fashion which should make it impossible not to judge it on its own merits. How, then, can it be that the judgments are so wildly diverse; how can the work possibly seem to two reasonably competent people a masterpiece on the one hand, a monstrous imposture on the other? How can the whole corpus of the author's writing and his standing as a playwright be the subject of a similar dispute, if, indeed, two discourses which seem never to meet on any common ground can be called a dispute?

The only possible explanation seems to me to be an irreconcilable difference in standards and expectations, and it may as well be admitted that many of the things which have always been said about O'Neill's plays and which will be repeated about this one are true as far as they go. In certain senses of the term O'Neill is not a good writer. He has never learned, perhaps never cared to learn, the disarming ingenuity which enables many to make even a foolish story seem diverting, and taking himself with full seriousness, he has never attempted to disarm criticism by the mock-modest assumption that he is, after all, only a popular entertainer. He lacks wit in even the broadest sense of the term, and his dialogue, far from being poetic, is often heavy in a way that remotely suggests the heaviness of Dreiser. I said once and I am willing to repeat that for a man who possesses genius or something very much like it he is singularly devoid of that mere talent which Shakespeare, let us say, so abundantly possessed. For the sake of argument at least I will also admit that the nihilism of the present play was more modish twenty years ago than it is today and insist that the question of his intellectual profundity is not really relevant. If these admissions constitute an indictment from which there is no acquittal, then there is no more to be said. A dozen playwrights can write plays sparkling with all the virtues that O'Neill never remotely suggests. But a reputation even grudgingly granted has already, in thirty years, been somewhat tested by time, and it has survived the absence of almost every secondary support. The uniqueness of O'Neill's position testifies to the uniqueness of his quality. His somber power continues to assert itself and cannot be dismissed. What distinguishes him is not skill and

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it is not, primarily, intellect. What does set him apart is a depth of passionate sincerity, an intensity of emotional conviction, almost monumentally impressive. There is, in all probability, no other playwright to whom the plays which he writes mean so much—not in terms of fame or money or in terms of the legitimate joy of the artist in performing his function, but in terms of the feeling and the conviction which they express. Obviously to O'Neill the tragic sense of life is an overwhelming and ever present reality which envelops everything and beside which nothing else counts. And to the fact that he does, in spite of everything, manage to convey that tragic sense the grumbling presence of his detractors pays its tribute.

Films

JAMES AGEE

IT IS interesting to compare Marcel Pagnol's "The Well-Digger's Daughter" with the popular American film "To Each His Own." Both examine at some length the consequences of having an illegitimate child, and both, in their very different ways, are highly designed and artificial. But the American film, for all its polish as a production and in spite of a good many glints of secondary reality, struck me as one of the most false and unpleasant movies in years; whereas the French film, pitifully raw as a production—it was made during the German occupation—and showing its own fair quota of worse faults than that, has about it a very remarkable amount of truth and beauty.

"To Each His Own" is so little worth talking about that I will make few more comparisons: let it suffice that from the moment the girl knows she is pregnant she acts like the moral coward nearly everyone in Hollywood and in the audience requires her to be, and that every plot complication and tear jerk from there on proceeds from, and exploits, premises of cowardice, cynicism, and the rottenest kinds of sentimentality. In "The Well-Digger's Daughter" it never once occurs to the girl, or to her father, or to anyone else that she must avoid the consequences or be tricky about them, and most of the rest of the picture, proceeding from this simplicity, remains equally real and touching. There is a beautiful scene, for instance, in which the girl tries to tell her casual lover of her sadness in being no longer a virgin, of her sense of separation from her family. There is a very painful scene in which the workman brings his pregnant daughter—and her five younger sisters—before the parents of the young man; these parents, true to their shopkeepers' mentality, cannot conceive that he has come for anything but blackmail, and manage to infect the father with their own assumption that the girl is a promiscuous liar. And there is a wonderful scene in which these parents, who have just learned that their son has died in the war, first see and desire to help their grandchild. Such scenes as these are written and played with a gentle and pure feeling for outrightness and comedy which makes all that is most serious in them extremely unaffected and poignant. In later scenes, significantly, when the story goes questionable—with the son's unexpected return, and eagerness to marry the girl—the acting goes rocky too. Even the late Raimu, as the girl's father, an actor with matchless discretion, as a rule, about when to neutralize the sentimentality with something dry, hard, and practical, puts on an old-fashioned gagging smirk which must now cause his ghost one of the few blushes it ever need suffer. And the delightful clown Fernandel, who has been finely sympathetic as the second-string suitor, shoves his head in the window for the punch-line with all the quality that used to be got by making Buck Jones's horse flare his lip and cross his fore hoofs at the final clinch.

In at least half of this film, however, it is so happy to see people behaving like human beings in a basic, moving, difficult situation that I thoroughly understand and like what Archer Winsten means when he writes that such a film can be made only by the pure in heart. And mainly I agree. But to an extent even much that I like in this film, and in its whole French kind, makes me uneasy. I'm not too fond of the fondness for nature symbolism—the bread in "Harvest," or here, the contrast-collaboration between aviation and well-digging. But I could let that be. What bothers me more is that something goes a little fishy about the purity of attitude in which the people are seen—good and true as it is, essentially. This sense of honoring the basic needs and experiences and values, of delighting in the animal innocence of unspoiled people, is hard though I hope not impossible to have without some taint both of sophisticated patronage and of snobbish, pseudo-respectful sentimentality, and without depending upon and stimulating those attitudes, however obscurely, in the audience. At its queasiest the attitude seems to read: "We're all just more or less good animals—or anyhow *they* are, and how we like and envy them." It is more worldly wise and more genuinely humane, but it makes me think of the attitude of the nicer Southern people toward "darkies"; it even sets some faint bells blurring over in the Hitler corridor, where all such simplicities are, I gather, sincerely yet perversely venerated. I think there is much in these simplicities that requires our veneration, but that for people sophisticated enough to feel the veneration, there are many hidden traps.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE Monte Carlo Ballet Russe, during its brief fall season at New York's City Center, presented a new ballet, "The Bells," which made one feel sorry for the dancers who had to make themselves ridiculous in it. Also, Balanchine's "Serenade" was restored to the repertory, but in a condition which indicated that it had not been rehearsed enough. Insufficient rehearsal of a company which included many new dancers was one of the things that made the performances of other works less brilliant than they had been; another was the injury that kept Danilova out of the performances—with consequences that would have been less serious if the management did not persist in operating without enough leading dancers. In addition there was the injury to Tallchief. And as though the company were not sufficiently unnerved by all these things, there was the loss of Balaban, who had provided the dancers with the secure musical foundation they needed, and his replacement by Boutnikoff, who made things difficult for them with tempos that were excessively fast or excessively slow when they were not errati .

At the Metropolitan Opera House Mr. Hurok has presented a combination of (1) the De Basil Ballet Russe, (2) Markova and Dolin and their group taken from Ballet Theater, and (3) Eglevsky and Hightower. The De Basil repertory has been performed by the De Basil personnel; Markova has danced in "Pas de Quatre," "Giselle" (which I have not yet seen), and the new "Camille" with additional dancers from the De Basil company; Eglevsky and Hightower have danced classical *pas de deux*

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by themselves, and have contributed the "Bluebird" *pas de deux* to the De Basil "Aurora's Wedding." Since most of the De Basil repertory and personnel are poor the results have been rather unsatisfactory evenings—for example, an evening in which the crude performance of Stroganova in "Swan Lake" was followed by Lichine's "Cain and Abel," one of the worst ballets ever seen in New York, then by "Pas de Quatre," in which Markova and Hightower danced with Stroganova and another poor dancer, Morosova, and finally by the interminable hubbub of Massine's "Fantastic Symphony."

One of the slightly better evenings began with the hubbub of Lichine's "Francesca da Rimini"; then came Taras's "Camille," which I thought was much better than his "Graziana"—more individual and ingenious in invention—and which had a superb setting by Cecil Beaton and was beautifully performed; then the "Black Swan" *pas de deux* with Eglevsky and Hightower; and finally "Graduation Ball," which was badly horsed up, but which had the charming "Giselle and the Scotsman" episode, beautifully done by the company's most talented dancers, Stepanova and Tupine. They danced in "Les Sylphides" another night, and also in "Yara," which had good music by Mignone, beautiful settings by Portinari, and choreography by Psota that was delightful in the gay early scenes but boring when it got solemnly symbolic; and while the principals in "The Blue Danube" were not very good, the over-all effect was pleasant, largely because of the original setting and costumes that De Basil retained when Massine took "Le Beau Danube" away with him.

Ballet Theater lost Markova, but it retained Kaye and Alonso, who are highly accomplished dancers; it lost Eglevsky, but replaced him with Youskevitch, who is a more elegant classical dancer; it got back Laing for the Tudor ballets, and Tudor himself to rehearse them with the many new dancers. The result was a strong company which, in the more intimate Broadway Theater, has given precise, finished, and at times brilliant performances of Tudor's "Lilac Garden," "Pillar of Fire," and "Romeo and Juliet," De Mille's "Tally-Ho," Robbins's "Fancy Free," and other works of this kind that I care less for, such as "Robbins's "Interplay" and Kidd's "On Stage." There have been also, thus far, beautiful performances of "Swan Lake" with Kaye and Youskevitch, a hair-raisingly brilliant "Black Swan" *pas de deux* by the same dancers, and other lovely *pas de deux* by Alonso with Youskevitch and Kriza.

But Balanchine's two works have come out less well. In "Apollo" Alonso, Kaye, and Fallis have remained and have been excellent, but Youskevitch doesn't yet know his part well enough and hasn't danced it long enough to fill it out into the sustained flow that Eglevsky achieved. But even with this lessened effectiveness the work is still the glory of Ballet Theater's repertory, which the management might recognize by not always putting it first on the program, to be wrecked by late comers. And the management may be critized for not only putting "Waltz Academy" first every time but for treating it very shabbily otherwise: its subtleties and strokes of wit in dance terms require the utmost precision of execution to come off; but it has been given with many new dancers who have not been rehearsed sufficiently, with Fallis who is unable to do what Kaye used to do in her part, and with Alonso who dances in the wonderful *pas de deux* so languidly as to deprive it of the brilliance it used to have with Gollner and Hightower.

The new version of "Pas de Quatre" is charming, and was well-danced by the group headed by Alonso, whose own feats of quietly achieved point-balance were comparable with Markova's, but whose performance did not have the wit of Markova's. "Les Patineurs" has very bad music by Meyerbeer, an over-cluttered setting and rather ugly costumes by Beaton, and choreography by Ashton that is amusing for a while, but too slight for its length. And that is all I have seen so far.

P. S. I have seen Ballet Theater's new production of "Giselle," with settings and costumes by Eugene Berman, effectively revised choreography and staging, and performances by Alonso, Kaye, and Youssevitch that make it one of the most excitingly beautiful and powerfully dramatic pieces of "ballet theater" in recent years. Don't miss it.

Letters to the Editors

Conscription a Necessity?

Dear Sirs: A veteran whose memories of service life are by no means all pleasant, I nevertheless believe wholeheartedly that conscription is both a moral and a practical necessity for the difficult years to come. Current opposition to the bill seems to be based on two romantic fallacies: (a) that military training "maintains the war system" through fear, and degrades the religious and political fiber of the nation; and (b) that conscription inevitably entails an armament race and aggressive imperialism. These arguments are essentially the same as those of the pre-war utopian pacifists and isolationists, based on a negative fear of moral contamination rather than a candid appraisal of moral and physical resources. They tell us that instead of depending on the services to teach citizenship, we should inaugurate a "real" citizenship program in our educational system, ignoring the fact that military life is one of man's oldest and most effective educational systems. Nobody expects the army alone to make citizens, but it can be a step toward understanding of the meaning of community. . . .

There are frivolous arguments on both sides. Nobody wants conscription to create health or better citizens as if we were living in a political vacuum. It is necessary because, while we are what we are in a world not yet ready to forswear the arbitrary use of power for nationalist ends, we must keep our power within the moral control of a democratic process rather than leave it in the hands of a few professionals. . . .

It is time we stopped equating military life with its abuses; this war made it clear that the abuses arose chiefly from irresponsibility of command and the excessive privileges of command rather than from any more fundamental defect of democratic organization. There is no basic reason why peace-time military life should be any more degrading than, say, fraternity life in the colleges. . . .

Why must we be more purist in this field than in our economic life? Certainly, the ultimate end of an army is to fight, but the aim of any competitive activity is the destruction of its opponents. Freedom from fear must always be a relative thing; the plain fact of the present is incipient anarchy that can only be overcome by a gradual healing of moral and ideological wounds over a long period of time. A realistic policy recognizes that preparedness through limited conscription is a means to that end.

Conscription is, of course, only a temporary expedient and useful only while larger world military organizations are in the planning stage. Perhaps its greatest use will be as a link between

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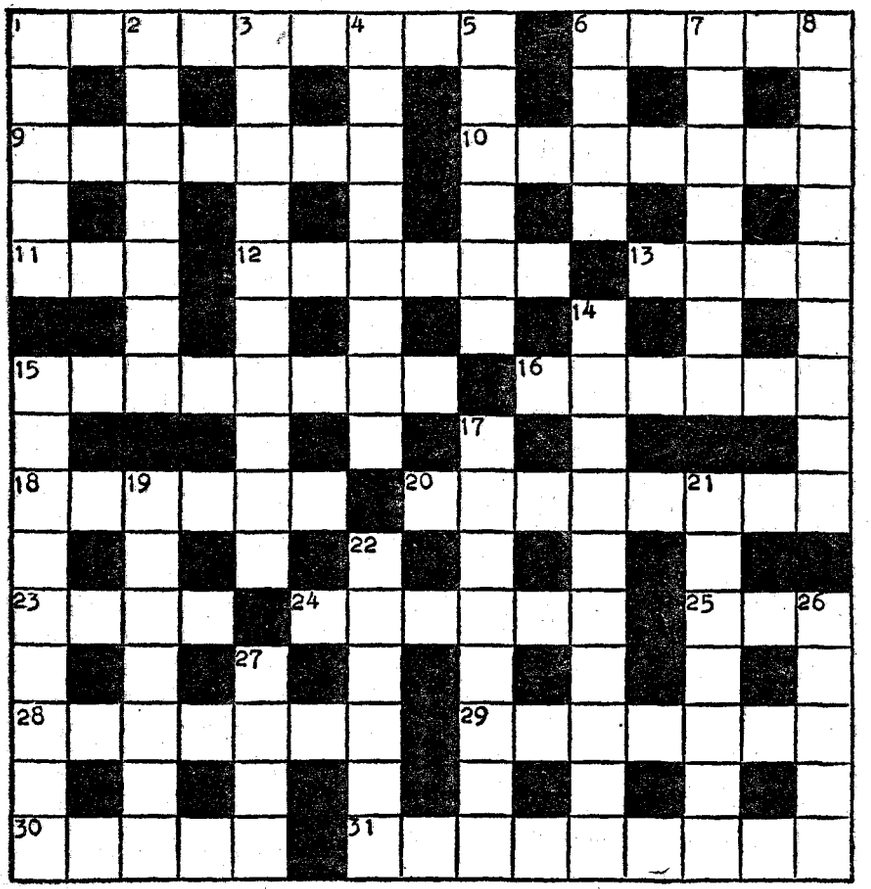
Crossword Puzzle No. 184

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Adjective of no import
6 Say no more! (3 and 2)
9 She is particular about her coiffure, but has no interest in shoes
10 King's places, or changes places with a king
11 One failing to make a report
12 Going about looking for trouble
13 A message from the pole
15 Not a desirable blow-out
16 Sport, Gus, may prove poisonous
18 Eat humble pie
20 In war this politician might rally broken ranks
23 Old King
24 Naples, as the Italians know it
25 Get a move on
28 Ethical? Just the reverse
29 Exerting pressure on both flanks
30 As many of the gentry as gain admittance
31 Seen on lawns after wet nights

DOWN

1 Warm and moist
2 Town of Connecticut
3 It's highly improbable that you'll ever read what it says about you
4 They like to give others orders
5 An old Creed
6 When we incline to take a gloomy view of things
7 Making a howler?
8 He has
14 Stoic guile (anag.)
15 It opens during the fall
17 Debutante broadcasting. Very genial
19 Peace pipe
21 Birds of the swallow kind
22 The cow has eaten every bit of the green
26 We no longer have them when we meet them
27 Helen's weight

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 183

ACROSS:—1 ASTERISK; 8 DESPAIR; 9 PARTISAN; 10 TSARINA; 12 EVIAN; 13 ORIENT; 14 NEWTS; 15 ISABEL; 17 NOMAD; 22 LAKES; 23 OSIRIS; 24 INGOT; 26 DENOTE; 28 LINGO; 29 KINGDON; 30 SKYPILOT; 31 ENTRIES; 32 DECLINED.

DOWN:—1 APPLE PIE; 2 TERMINAL; 3 REIGN; 4 SHADOW; 5 PEASE; 6 SPORTED; 7 LINNETS; 10 TIMON; 11 ANNALS; 16 ELATED; 18 MELON; 19 FRANKLIN; 20 ESCORTED; 21 ENSIGNS; 22 LODGERS; 25 HECKLE; 27 NOBEL; 28 LAPEL.

our bitter past experience with a pacifist-utopian philosophy and our hopes of a realistic, responsible center of preventive world power—if, in the last analysis, there is such a thing.

R. W. FLINT

New York, October 3

Radio Executive Applauds

Dear Sirs: May I congratulate you on the new weekly radio page, which, I learn, is to be a regular feature of *The Nation*. In Lou Frankel you have one of the best-informed men in this field. He knows the subject of radio broadcasting, and, perhaps because his ideas coincide so closely with my own, I think his point of view is absolutely sound. As a regular reader of *The Nation*, I welcome this new department.

NATHAN STRAUS
President, WMCA

New York, October 11

Uphold's Rachmaninov

Dear Sirs: Whether one agrees or not with the commendations or strictures of your Records department conductor, there is no doubt of his seriousness about music. It is therefore the more provocative that in a recent article Mr. Haggin referred to the Second Concerto of Rachmaninov as "trashy." I am at a loss to understand how anyone who has heard this masterpiece rendered, either by Rachmaninov himself or another, can dismiss it so unqualifiedly. That it contains passages of frank sentiment does not, in my opinion, detract from its merit. Music is preeminently the voice of the soul and its deepest emotional claims, and it is understandable that Concerto No. 2 should have been used for its dramatically poignant content as background to a number of films. The earliest instance of this, I believe, was in "The Scoundrel," the Hecht-MacArthur picture starring Noel Coward. There is a depth and organic unity to this particular work of Rachmaninov which justifies its present vogue and which will undoubtedly catapult it to immortality.

Could it be that Mr. Haggin finds no echo in himself of the experience embodied in Rachmaninov's darkly beautiful piece? Could it be that mass popularity itself offends him? One final comment: if films can stimulate music appreciation in "those who are receiving their musical education from the films," should Mr. Haggin curl his lip?

MAURICE PEIZER

New York, October 11

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